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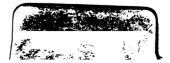
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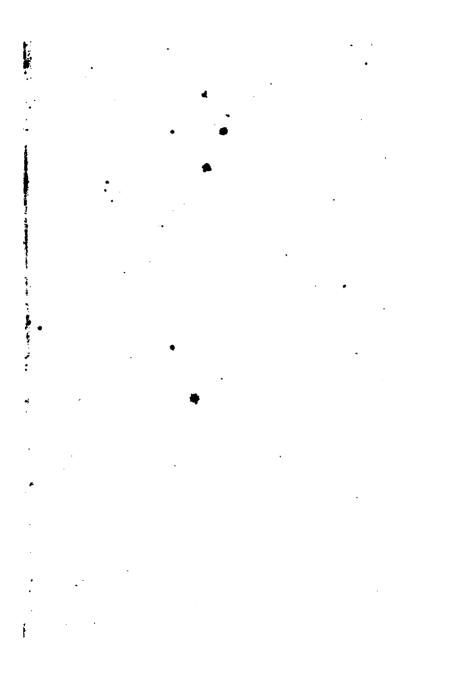
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HISTORY

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S C O T L A N D.

BY ROBERT CHAMBERS.

A NEW EDITION.

REVISED AND CORRECTED.

LONDON:

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The present Edition of this popular Work has been most carefully revised by the Author; and in many parts re-written by him. In its new, cheap, and improved form, it may be deemed worthy to sustain the well-deserved reputation of its Author.

FEBRUARY 24, 1849.

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CONTENTS.

	CHA	PTEF	l I.						
EARLY AGES—ALEXANDER I	11.		•		•				GE 1
	CHAI	PTER	II.						
PERIOD OF WALLACE AND 1	BRUCE	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	10
	CHAI	PTER	III.						
ROBERT BRUCE-JAMES I.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	24
	CHA	PTER	IV.						32
JAMES THE FIRST	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	32
	CH	APTE	R V.						
JAMES II.—JAMES III	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	41
	СНА	PTER	VI.						
JAMES IV	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	54
	CHAI	TER	VII.						_

	CHA	PTER	VIII	Ι.					
									PAGE
JAMES V. CONCLUDED .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	83
	СНА	PTER	ıx.						
MINORITY OF QUEEN MARY					•				91
	СН	APTE	R X.						
THE REFORMATION .	•	•	•		•		•		106
	СНА	PTEF	XI.						
THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY		•		•	•	•	•		120
, *	CHA	APTE:	R XI	I.					
REIGN OF QUEEN MARY CON	CLUD	ED	•	•	•	•	•	•	129
	СНАІ	TER	XIII	•					
MINORITY OF JAMES VI.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	137
	CHAI	PTER	XIV.	•					
REIGN OF JAMES VI	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	150
	СНАЕ	TER ·	xv.						
REIGN OF JAMES VI. TO THE	E TINI	0 M	THE	CR	NWNG		_	_	163

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY AGES-ALEXANDER III.

It is probable, from the insular situation of Britain, and its being placed at the very extremity of the elder continent, almost cut off from all the rest of the world, as Virgil expresses it.* that it remained, for many ages previous to the Christian era, in the same condition in which some of the remote isles of America were found by their first discoverers—without inhabitants, without even wild animals, a mere wilderness of vegetation. For countless centuries, that land which has since been trod by so many millions, lay unseen, unnamed, unenjoyed; in vain alike the foliage of its far-spread forests, and the deep herbage of its valleys; in vain the flow of its majestic streams, and the bloom of the flowers which bent over them in uncropped luxuriance; in vain the summer's heat and winter's cold, or any other of those dispensations which Providence intended from the birth of time for the comfort and convenience of the human race: all lying in primeval silence—nature waiting for man.

From what quarter man came, to break the silence that had continued from chaos, to awaken untried echoes, wade through nameless rivers, and disturb with his artificial ideas the vegetation which had been blooming and bourgeoning since the Deluge, is uncertain; though it was probably from the neighbouring shores of Gaul, now France. The first enlightened man who set his foot upon the country was Julius Cæsar. When he invaded the southern shore of the island, fifty-five years before Christ, he found it occupied by barbarians similar to those whom he had.

^{* &}quot;Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos."-Ec. I.

just subdued in Gaul. The Roman republic was then pursuing a course of conquest and colonization over the barbarous parts of the earth, much the same as that which has since become the turn of Great Britain to pursue; and accordingly, we find the island and its inhabitants spoken of by the classic writers of that nation in nearly the same style as we might use in regard to the Hindoos, or the North American Indians, over whom the British arms have latterly been extending their conquests.

The Romans continued about five hundred years in Britain: during which they succeeded in subduing and civilizing the greater part of it, the only exception being the more northerly part of that section of the island which has since come to bear the name of Scotland. There they found it impossible to penetrate, owing to the irregular nature of the ground, and the indomitable character of the natives. These people were termed Caledonians, from a word in their own language, signifying dwellers in the woods-for their whole country was a forest, and their only subsistence the wild creatures who found in it a common shelter with themselves; thence a district of the south of Scotland is still called Kyle, meaning a woody region. Romans, who never measured danger or trouble against the probable profit, made repeated attempts to conquer or extirpate this wretched nation of savages, by leading roads into their territory and planting forts; but they were always obliged, in the end, to retreat behind a fortified wall, which one of the emperors. in the second century of the Christian era, had thought proper to build across the island, as a means, if not of subjugating the Caledonians, at least of preventing them from doing any harm beyond their own bounds.

At length, in the fifth century, the Romans were compelled by distresses in their own country to withdraw from Britain; and the Caledonians were left to enjoy a negative kind of triumph. The wall being then undefended, the barbarians broke through it, and spread themselves over the country to the south, which had been left in possession of a partially civilized, but also effeminate of people, namely, the original Britons as modified by the control of the country to the Roman legions. That found it necessary for their own defence, to call in the

assistance of the Angles or Saxons, a warlike people of Germany. The Angles soon beat back the Caledonians to their original limits; but, by way of reward, for so doing, they established themselves in the same kind of mastery over the Britons which the Romans had enjoyed; and it is from them that England derives its name.

In those early ages, before any proper system of government or law was established, there were always some bands of adventurous people wandering about, who were ready either to sell their services as soldiers to any nation oppressed by another, or, as occasion served, to become the oppressors themselves, and sit down as the military lords of a soil heretofore occupied by a peaceful race. Of this kind were the Scots, a tribe which, after emigrating, as is supposed, from Spain to Ireland, and after having made themselves paramount in the latter country, sent a detachment over to Caledonia, under the charge of a chief named Fergus, to try if a settlement might be effected there. Fergus, styled the son of Eric, landed, with his troops, on the point of Kintyre in Argyleshire, about the year 503; and immediately began, from his first seat of government, on a lonely peninsula, to extend his dominion into the country. His bands increased; his family continued, after his own death, as their chiefs; a castle, called Dunstaffnage, near the mouth of the present Caledonian canal, became the palace of his race, and the capital of the country upon which they aggressed. By and bye, the Caledonians, who bore the various name of Picts, and who had. in the course of ages, become at least so much civilized as to erect buildings and carve sculptures of no inconsiderable elegance (some of which yet exist), entered into a furious struggle with the Scots, and were by them overcome. A Scottish king, named Kenneth, accomplished this work in the year 853, and brought forward his seat of government from Dunstaffnage to Forteviot, in Perthshire, which is supposed to have previously been the capital of the Pictish sovereign, Druet, whom he had subdued.

A space of three hundred and fifty years having thus sufficed for giving the Scots possession of the country north of the Tay, another century saw them advance to the Forth, and prepare to

overcome certain tribes of Britons, which still subsisted, in more or less independence, to the south of that estuary. A successor of Kenneth, named Malcolm (1020), obtained dominion over a great part of this tract, by treaty with Edmund, a Saxon King of England, the condition being that he should become an ally of that state. And not only did the Scottish princes thus extend their sway: they also resisted, with a gallantry which puts the conduct of the English to shame, the invasions repeatedly attempted upon their country by the Danes, who in this age exhibited the same genius for maritime conquest which the Scots and Saxons, and afterwards the Normans, displayed by land. Kenneth III. son of Malcolm, gained a memorable victory over a prodigious band of these invaders, at Luncarty, near Perth. Other victories were also obtained over them, at Aberlemno in Angus, Mortlach in Aberdeenshire, and at Fores in Morav. Nevertheless, it is certain, from the dialect and personal appearance of the inhabitants of these districts, that great numbers of maritime invaders, from the countries in the north of Europe. had gained a settlement in them before or after the period in question.

It would be quite vain to record, even in a work of greater space than the present, the particular contests which took place in these early ages of Scottish history. The object of such encounters is generally too mean and obscure, too much removed from our sympathies, to admit of any interest being excited by their detail. Some feeling, however, may be excited by the idea which arises in our minds, in reflecting on the number of those conflicts, indicated by the frequency of rude barrows and obelisks throughout the country; and on their bloodiness, which is testified, with scarcely less authority, by tradition. It is impossible to think on such struggles, inspired, as they were, either by a wish for empire over the most sterile regions, or by a love of glory, which had not even the chance of being commemorated, without a sensation of pity for misdirected human nature.

That these ages could produce their tales of ambition, and other violent passions, as well as times of later date, is proved by the well-known story of Macbeth. The real tale of that chief is, that, having a claim upon the crown, which a peculiarly loose law

of succession then in force, might have easily persuaded him to be superior to the right of the existing sovereign, Duncan, he waylaid and murdered that personage, near Elgin in Moray, and then became King himself. To this deed, as old chronicles tell, he was partly incited by a vision of three Sybil-like women, who foretold his greatness. But his chief inspiration is supposed to have been the baleful passions of his wife Gruoch, who had family quarrels of long standing to avenge upon Duncan. Macbeth, having committed one crime, was easily led to perpetrate others. He expelled the children of the murdered King, and also a chief named Macduff, who befriended them. The family of the last mentioned individual he is said to have burnt in their castle. He latterly became a grievous oppressor of his subjects, by compelling them to work like beasts of burden in fortifying a hill near Perth, called Dunsinane, for the defence of his person and ill-gotten power. At length, Malcolm, the son of Duncan, procured aid from England, met, and overthrew the usurper.

This Malcolm, the third of the name, and styled Canmore, from his large head, was the first sovereign of a new and comparatively enlightened era of Scottish history. He established his seat of government at Dunfermline, in a lowland part of the country, and endeavoured to consolidate the sovereignty which had been procured by his predecessor Malcolm II. over Lothian, Berwickshire, and even some of the northern parts of England. He received and gave shelter to Edgar Atheling, the Saxon prince, and his sister Margaret, who fled from England in consequence of the usurpation of Harold. That Princess he afterwards took to wife, and thereby transmitted to his posterity the claims of the Saxon line of sovereigns upon the throne of England. This lady, being very pious and well-informed, was able to do much good in humanizing the King and his subjects. They were soon after provided with additional means of instruction and improvement by the arrival of a great number of other Saxons, who left England in consequence of the Norman conquest. The language of the King and Court had hitherto been Celtic, or Gaelic, like their lineage; but they now began to learn the Anglo-Saxon. Afterwards the Court language, and that indeed which eventually spread over all the lowland part of Scotland, received a tinge of French from a number of Normans, who deserted William's standard and took refuge in the northern kingdom. From this period it is observable that the Scottish princes lose sight of those rude regions in the west and north which their ancestors first overran, and assume the chivalrous aspect and bearing of Norman Kings.

Malcolm died in 1093, sovereign of even more country than is now contained in Scotland: and the crown, after vacillating for some years between Donald Bane, an usurper, and the elder branches of his family, settled upon his son David, a pious, bold, and sagacious prince, who held it with great credit for twentynine years; that is, from the year 1124 to 1153. Malcolm's daughter, having in the meantime been married to Henry I. the voungest son of the Conqueror, had given birth to Maud, mother of the English monarch Henry II.; and thus a connection was established between the Plantagenet princes and the Scottish monarchs, which was little interrupted for two centuries, though in the first place it caused David to be embroiled in a war with King Stephen, for the vindication of his niece's rights against that usurper. David's piety, mingled, no doubt, with motives of a political nature, caused him to make large endowments to the church, and to build many religious houses. The monasteries of Kelso, Drybrugh, and Melrose, which run like a chain of military posts along the border, together with many equally splendid foundations in the more central parts of the kingdom, were raised by him.*

To David succeeded his grandson, Malcolm IV., who reigned till 1166. To Malcolm, who died without issue, succeeded William, another grandson of King David. William was a thoroughly chivalrous King, and seems to have been the first of his race who adopted a heraldic ensign. His badge was the lion, which has ever since figured in the Scottish shield; and hence he was named William the Lion. Once, when reconnoiting the castle of Alnwick, in England, for the purpose of taking it, he

^{*} His successor, James I., on being shown his grave at Dunfermline, and told by the monks what a saint he had been, remarked that he had been "ane sair sanct for the crowne;" that is, had made great havoc of the crownlands for the gratification of his piety.

was surprised by a superior party of English, who had approached him under a mist. Not at all daunted, he dashed with his little band against the enemy, crying, "Now we shall see who are good knights!" an exclamation savouring of chivalry. On this occasion he was taken prisoner, and brought before the English King, Henry II., against whom he had taken up arms at the instigation of his son Richard, afterwards known by the epithet, Cœur de Lion.

From this accident flowed a grievous national misfortune. The Kings of England had hitherto received homage from the Scottish monarchs for some of those southern districts which the former had found it convenient to cede to the latter in the time of Malcolm II. By and bye, as the original principles of this arrangement became less plainly understood. English Kings began to form the ambitious wish of establishing a claim of paramountcy over those of Scotland for their entire dominions: thereby degrading them to the condition of mere vassal-Kings, or Vicerovs. The impudence of this project is the more conspicuous, when we consider that Henry II. was only the great-grandson of a Norman adventurer of illegitimate birth, while William was the descendant of a race which had given independent Kings to Scotland for six or seven hundred years. Absurd as it was, it was destined to be so far successful in the present case, that William, for the sake of his liberty, was content to pay fealty to Henry for his whole dominions. Hence proceeded evils manifold to Scotland.

William died in 1214, after a reign of forty-eight years, in which there is hardly a blot except this inauspicious acknowledgment, which, after all, the Monarch probably contemplated only as a thing paid in ransom instead of money, and which might afterwards be redeemed for a pecuniary consideration. Such a redemption did virtually take place some years after, when, for a certain sum, which he wanted for the Holy Wars, Richard Cœur de Lion remitted the obligation imposed by his father, reserving only the usual homage for Lothian and other southern districts.

To William succeeded his son Alexander, the second son of that name, who was a prudent prince, and did much to consolidate the kingdom. To him, in 1249, succeeded his son Alexander III.

who also proved a good sovereign. The reign of the latter is particularly distinguished by a victory which he gained over the Norwegians in 1263, when Haco, the warlike King of that country, made a formidable descent at Largs, in Ayrshire, for the purpose of enforcing his right to the sovereignty of the Western Islands. Alexander contended with the invaders for three days, and at length, with the assistance of a storm which partly destroyed their fleet, succeeded in repelling the attack.

Scotland had now experienced two centuries of good, and, upon the whole, peaceful government, since it was first extended to its full size; and it is said to have been for awhile not much inferior to England in power, commerce, and wealth. Perhaps few of the royal families of modern Europe display six generations of such uniform respectability as those which occur in the Scottish line between Malcolm Canmore and Alexander III. Much of the prosperity of the kingdom must have also been owing to the genius of the people, who seem to have been greatly improved by the strangers that were perpetually mixing with them. Among external causes, is to be reckoned the perpetual drainage which England experienced during these ages for the Holy Wars, while Scotland was constantly nourishing its strength at home.

In this era of Scottish history we first find coined silver money. Now also arose the first of those institutions called royal burghs. which were originally intended by the Kings as forts of refuge. so to speak, for the common people, where they might carry on their trades, and enjoy a local government of their own, free from the barons and great noblemen who ruled over the rest of the country. The commercial shipping of Scotland during this period was considerable; the country itself presented such temptations to the enterprise of foreign merchants, that the Jews proposed to form a colony at North Queensferry for the purpose of carrying on trade. At this time the King was in the habit of calling parliaments of his nobles, who sometimes contributed large sums of money for his use. The several monarchs also had their seals. wherewith to ratify the charters which they bestowed upon their vassals. These seals generally represent the royal personages either on horseback, arrayed as knights, or in their chairs of state, robed and crowned as Kings. There were palaces at Dunfermline, Edinburgh Castle, and probably some other places. The nobles, a great number of whom were Norman refugees, or Normans who also had lands in England, lived in fortresses or castles, some of which, such as Dunbar, Tantallon, Lochmaben, and Carlaverock, were very massive and strong. The tradesmen of the burghs lived in their tenements of land, which were generally two stories in height. The peasantry and farmers dwelt in hovels, probably little worse than those which obtained till lately all over the country, and which are still found in the Highlands. At the same time, a complete system of religious instruction was established under twelve bishops, each of whom had an extensive catalogue of parsonages committed to his charge. The monasteries were already numerous and rich; the buildings beautiful, and the lands highly cultivated. The arts had also made some progress over the country—though it is not probable that Scotland exported any manufactured articles.

The monarchs, during this period, appear to have shaken off a great deal of their original Celtic character, and become almost entirely Norman in manners and style of government. When Fergus invaded the country in 503, he brought with him a flat black stone like a cushion, which had been, even for ages before his time, a kind of family palladium; a destiny was attached to it, according to tradition, that wherever it should be placed, there should the race of Scots be predominant. Perhaps this sacred object had been carried with the tribe through Ireland, and might be afterwards committed to the charge of Fergus, as a means of procuring success to his expedition. The Scottish Kings were placed upon the Black Stone at their coronation. Celtic ceremonial was gone through on such occasions. A Highland senachy, or herald, appeared before the new King, and recited his genealogy back to the time of Fergus, by way of showing his right to the throne. But scarcely any other trace is to be found of Celtic peculiarity in these monarchs. It is farther evident that the late distinct division of the country into Highlands and Lowlands had now commenced; the former giving shelter to the original Celtic subjects of the race of Fergus, while the latter were occupied by those mixed races over which the Kings had established their supremacy. Hence the language of the former is still pure Erse or Celtic, while that of the lower region is a mingled dialect of Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and Norman, with a sprinkling of Gaelic. It may also be observed, as part of the same result, that the names of places in the western and northern division of the kingdom are generally of Gaelic signification, while those in the eastern and southern districts are more generally Scandinavian and Saxon.

Upon the whole, the institutions of the country were a good deal like the English, through whom it may be said the light of modern civilization, which arose after the Middle Ages in Italy, France, and Spain, had been distilled before it reached the Scottish The country was divided into sheriffdoms, after the fashion of Alfred's dissection of England into counties; and some noblemen, generally of Norman descent, had the principal sway Almost all of these grandees were styled from the districts which they ruled, as the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Stratherne, the Earl of Lennox, and so forth; the title 'Earl' being, in reality, descriptive of an office similar to that of a modern sheriff. The towns appear to have had bailiffs, or bailies, as their chief magistrates. The laws were administered by the King in person, who, for that purpose, was perpetually moving through his kingdom, holding what were called justice-ayres. The feudal system, by which all lands are understood to be held from the King, on condition of military service, and by virtue of which landlords in their turn had unlimited power over their tenants, was, in this period, introduced in its fullest forms into Scotland, where it has ever since exercised a prodigious influence over society.

CHAPTER II.

PERIOD OF WALLACE AND BRUCE.

At the death of Alexander III. in 1285, the advancing prosperity of Scotland was destined to experience a grievous check, from the unhappy results of a disputed succession.

Alexander left no heirs but an infant grand-child, Margaret, Princess of Norway, the daughter of Eric, King of that country, by Margaret, daughter of the King of Scotland. 'This child, who had been acknowledged heir of the crown the year before, now therefore became Queen of Scotland. As she was still in Norway, and only three years of age, a regency of six persons was appointed to rule in her stead; and negociations were entered into with Eric, her father, and Edward I. of England, who was her grandmother's brother, for bringing her over to Scotland.

Edward I. was at this time by far the most warlike and sagacious sovereign in Europe. He had already added Wales to his native dominions, and he now formed the project of gaining possession of Scotland also, by matching his son with the infant Queen. A union of the two countries by such means was highly desirable; but, on the unexpected death of Margaret, in her passage from Norway, Edward was induced to form views of a much darker kind.

The inheritance of the kingdom now lay among the descendants of Prince David, a brother of William the Lion. From the eldest of David's three daughters descended John Baliol, a Norman noble. holding great possessions in Scotland, England, and France. From the second descended Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, also a Norman noble, and, like Baliol, possessed of large estates in England. According to all modern ideas of succession, Baliol's right was preferable to Bruce's, and he ought to have become king. Unfortunately, however, there had obtained in Scotland, though not since the time of Malcolm Canmore, a custom by which a brother or nephew might succeed, in preference to a son or a daughter, if he only were more fully grown in years, and more able to lead the national armies. In virtue of this, Bruce had plotted a usurpation of the throne, even in the life-time of the infant Margaret; he now argued, that, as he was the grandson of Prince David, while John Baliol was his great grandson, he was better entitled to the throne; being, to use the phrase of the times, nearer in degree to the person from whom they drew their common descent.

To settle this puzzling question, King Edward presented himself; and as the people were anxious to avoid a civil broil, they were

easily induced to accept of him as arbiter. Before giving his award, however, the wily king required that the competitors should acknowledge him to be Lord Paramount of Scotland, and that the kingdom should be put into his hands, by the effectual symbol of a surrender of its best fortresses, in order that he might. in turn, give it to the rightful heir. This was a revival of the claim of superiority, which, as already mentioned, the English monarchs affected to have over those of Scotland, in consequence of the latter, for some ages back, having rendered homage for the English provinces entrusted to their keeping. Such a claim had often been presented by the kings of England in treaties; but, except in the solitary case of William the Lion, it had always been scouted by the northern monarchs. The only reasonable grounds upon which it can now be set forward, are, that certainly it was fractionally right, namely, so far as a part of the south of Scotland was concerned; that, in several instances, expatriated Scottish princes had sought and procured aid from the kings of England. as their superiors, in attempts to regain their throne; and that a great part of the Scottish nobility were actually subjects of England, from the circumstance of their also holding lands in that kingdom. On the present occasion, as the competitors were all subjects of Edward, and as they were all alike glad to bow to the arbiter who alone seemed to have the power of bestowing the kingdom, they readily acknowledged his claim in its most comprehensive sense.

Edward, thus empowered, awarded the crown to John Baliol, who forthwith went through the ceremonial of swearing fealty to his patron, and was soon after crowned at Scone. Ere long, he felt the smart of the obligation under which he had come to Edward. That stern master began to inflict upon him a series of insults, for the express purpose, it would appear, of causing him to fly into rebellion. For one thing, he required the poor slave-king to appear before his English law-courts, to answer to every appeal which his own subjects thought proper to carry there. Baliol, offended beyond all patience, gratified Edward by sending him a solemn renunciation of his allegiance. When the English king received it, he exclaimed in his Norman French, "Ha! ce fol felon, tel folic feict! S'il ne yoult venir à nous, nous viendrons

a lui." (Ha! the foolish traitor! If he will not come to me, I shall go to him.) And he immediately invaded Scotland with an army, which, after destroying Berwick, then a Scottish town, overthrew the whole collected force of the country at Dunbar, April 28, 1296. King John, then left quite defenceless, was taken prisoner; and being brought before Edward, in the churchyard of Stracathro, in the Mearns, was there, in a solemn manner, stripped piece-meal of the ensigns and robes of sovereignty, and declared to be no longer King of Scotland. His person was soon after committed to the keeping of the Pope.

It might have been expected, as Scotland was now without a sovereign, that Edward would lose no time in appointing the next competitor. Bruce accordingly presented his claim for the seat vacated by Baliol. "What!" exclaimed the Lord Paramount, "have I nothing to do but to conquer kingdoms for you?" The time was now come for what he had all along looked forward to—his making himself the sovereign of Scotland. He therefore only stayed to assure himself of the complete subjugation of the country, before leaving it in the hands of his own troops and civil officers, to be managed as a part of the English dominions. He marched back to London,* congratulating himself that within a very few years he had added two independent nations to the catalogue of his subjects, and extended his empire over the whole island of Britain.

It is to be observed, however, that he had only subdued the bodies of the Scottish people. Their spirits he had not even broken. The classes, moreover, which appeared to render him their obedience, were chiefly those Normans who were in a great measure his own subjects already, or who at least had a national feeling rather in favour of England than of Scotland. The mass of the population, composed of old independent aborigines, who loathed a foreign sway, and reflected with ardent feelings upon the antiquity of their own desecrated monarchy, had passed beneath his notice, and now only wanted a proper leader to rise against him.

That leader was supplied by William Wallace, a young gentle-

^{*} On this occasion he carried off the national records, and the stone upon which the Scottish kings had been crowned for so many centuries.

man of Renfrewshire, the second son of the knight of Elderslie. who, having been outlawed for killing an Englishman in a brawl, was gradually induced, by a train of circumstances, to commence a guerilla warfare against the English garrisons. Being successful in a few rencontres, he soon acquired strength, began to take castles, and to attack large parties; and finally, he appeared openly at the head of an army, for the avowed purpose of relieving his country from a foreign yoke. Wallace had all the proper characteristics of a popular hero. He was taller and stronger than most men; bravest among the brave; capable of enduring any degree of fatigue; and gifted with a turn for ambuscade. which often was of greater avail to him than the number of his troops. By Edward's directions the Earl of Surrey led an English army against this unexpected insurgent. Wallace waited on the north bank of the Forth for its approach. Half of it passed a narrow wooden bridge to give him battle. That portion he attacked: in an instant it fell into confusion, turned, and endeavoured to escape across the river. Great numbers were killed and drowned; those who yet remained on the south bank retreated to England. Having thus become in a manner master of Scotland, Wallace undertook an expedition into England, which the absence of Edward in France left at this moment in a defenceless state. He swept the country breadth-wise from Newcastle to Carlisle almost without resistance, and, as might be expected in a rude age, took a terrible revenge for the temporary oppression of his native land by the English. On his return he was chosen by his followers, and no doubt with the good will of the people at large, to be Guardian of Scotland in the name of the exiled John.

Edward was obliged by this sudden turn of affairs to quit a scene of splendid conquest in France, and return to preserve his native dominions. He next year (1298) led a fine army northward, and on the 22d of July met Wallace at Falkirk. After an obstinate engagement, in which it is believed the Scottish army would have been victorious but for the desertion of some of its most important leaders, he once more found himself master of Scotland. Wallace sunk back into obscurity, and was never again able to make head in the field against the English monarch. He was, some years

after, taken by the treachery of a friend, dragged to London, there tried as a traitor to the King of England, and, to the disgrace of Edward, put to death with manifold cruelties. His name has continued to be so fondly remembered by popular tradition in his own country, as to convey a vivid idea of the force of that national spirit to which it was his fortune to give direction for a time, and which, as will be found; was ultimately successful in retrieving the kingdom from the English domination.

Although Edward was once more paramount by the defeat of Wallace, it might have been apparent to any competitor for the crown, who had otherwise the proper qualifications, that the spirit of the people vet afforded the means of rescuing the country. No such attempt was made for several years; but in 1305, a person properly qualified appeared in Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, grandson of the rival of Baliol. This person, next to Baliol and his son, who still lived, had the best pretensions to the crown. He was as yet little above thirty years of age, of a robust frame. and a dauntless, persevering character. He had for several years joined the greater part of the other Norman grandees in fealty to Edward, and indeed seemed one of that sovereign's most tried and faithful followers. All at once, he appeared in the character of an insurgent against Edward's sovereign rule; his first act in that capacity being the assassination of a rival named John Cumin. at the altar of a monastery in Dumfries. His project was partly the result, perhaps, of suddenly-conceived ambitious views, and of desperation on account of this crime, which was entirely unpremeditated. But, from whatever cause, he soon displayed an energy in his undertaking that was well calculated to renew the alarms of Edward for his Scottish conquest.

Bruce, in the vicissitudes and perils of his career, might be considered as an aristocratic Wallace, having in view the vindication of his birthright, at the same time that he wished to assert his country's independence. His cause, for obvious reasons, was more apt than that of Wallace to gain friends among men of his own rank. Surrounded by a few of these, he caused himself to be crowned King at Scone, March 27, 1306. Edward soon heard of his proceedings, and sent troops to quell his revolt. Bruce was surprised by an English party in Methven Wood, near Perila and

was obliged to take refuge with a diminished band among the fastnesses of the Highlands. His wife is reported to have told him at this time that he was a summer king, but would never be a winter one. Still, however, she went everywhere by her husband's side, sharing in all his hardships. After maintaining for some time a precarious existence in the Highlands, it was iudged proper that the King should retire to Ireland, to await the fortune of the next season. As he was making his way through a pass in the West Highlands, with a very few friends, he was set upon by Alexander of Argyle, who cherished feelings of deadly hostility against him, for his having assassinated Cumin, who was the brother-in-law of this powerful lord. Bruce defended himself with great bravery-killed three men who assailed him, all at one moment—but eventually could only release himself from the grasp of the Highland chief, by disengaging himself from his plaid or mantle. which was confined by a jewelled brooch.* After encountering many more hardships, the outcast king reached a place of shelter in Ireland.

Having landed again, next summer, on the coast of Scotland. Bruce proceeded, in a series of petty skirmishes and surprises, all of which were more or less successful, to inflict renewed alarm upen the English monarch. Edward, no longer able to bear this perpetual thwarting of his designs, collected an army even more powerful than any he had ever led against Scotland; and, having first taken an oath that he would reduce the country or die in the attempt, began his march early in 1307, although he was at *that time so much weakened by disease and exhaustion of constitution, as to be only able to travel in a litter. When he reached Carlisle. enthusiasm caused him to believe himself much better. and he hung up his litter in the cathedral as an offering, and proceeded on horseback. He was only able, however, to reach the spot called Burgh-upon-Sands, on the coast of the Solway Firth. when his death came upon him. He was here in sight of Scotland, and it may be imagined with what agonized feelings of rage and despair the dying conqueror beheld, across the narrow

^{*} The descendants of Alexander of Argyle, called the Mac Dougalls of Lorn, latterly of Dunolly, have preserved the brooch taken from Bruce on the corresion.

firth, that refractory country, which, after all his efforts, seemed about to glide for ever from his grasp. Fondly trusting that he might yet complete in death what was denied to him in life, he commanded his son to carry his bones at the head of the army into Scotland, in the manner that a banner is carried, so that the treacherous Scots might yet tremble at the name and sight of Edward. His son, the imbecile Edward II., had not the desire of conquest so strongly at heart; he quietly buried his father in Westminster Abbey, and after a short and ineffectual campaign in the south of Scotland, returned to enjoy the sweets of sovereignty in London.

For several years after this period, King Robert was incessantly employed in skirmishes with the garrisons which the English King maintained in Scotland, or in contending with those native lords of the soil who were adverse to his claims. In the course of this partizan warfare, he was sometimes at the head of a powerful party, and sometimes a single fugitive pursued by blood-hounds. Through all his vicissitudes he seems to have invariably enjoyed the good wishes of the common people, to whom his cause was endeared by its being their own, and who always found some means of assisting and supporting him, however controlled in general by their superiors. At length, by a series of minute military transactions, which almost tires the reader of old chronicles, he found himself, in 1313, in possession of every fortress of any consequence in the kingdom except Stirling, with the Governor of which his brother Edward made an agreement that. unless relieved by an English army before midsummer next year. it should be delivered into the hands of the Scots.

It was this circumstance that led to the celebrated battle by which the independence of Scotland was so fully asserted. Robert himself was vexed when he learned the terms which his brother had made, as he well knew that the chivalrous spirit of the age would make it necessary that an English army should be brought to rescue the castle; a visit which he could have as well spared, if with honour. The principles of chivalry, however, had as strong a hold of Bruce's mind as they could have of any man's in that age; and while still regretting the cause, he determined

on meeting the English, as thus pledged, in a fair-stricken field.

As he had calculated, the English king was now at length roused by the terms of this treaty, to undertake what he had so long delayed, a personal expedition to Scotland, and that upon such a scale as seemed calculated to ensure success. The army collected for this purpose comprehended the whole feudal service. of ninety-three great tenants of the English crown, besides a considerable force from Wales and Ireland, and some foreign mercenaries. In round numbers it amounted to a hundred thousand men, whereof four thousand were clad in complete steel, horse and man, and fifty thousand were archers, each of whom bore a bow as tall as himself, and shot arrows a cloth-vard long. An idea may be formed of the infinite pomp and circumstance of this array, from the fact, as calculated by a monkish writer of the time, that its baggage-waggons extended would have made a line a hundred and eighty miles long. It comprised. indeed, the whole military force of England; and so confidently did Edward anticipate victory by its means, that he brought with him a poetical monk, as one of the supernumeraries, to celebrate his successes as soon as they should take place.

Bruce, for his part, made all the preparations which circumstances could admit of. Forty thousand brave men obeyed the summons which called them to defend the independence of their country, or see it for ever destroyed. In this host, rendezvoused in the Torwood, near Falkirk, were men from every part of Scotland - Anglo-Saxons from the south and east districts. civilized Caledonians from the north-east province, Islesmen but recently transferred from a Norwegian to a Scottish allegiance. Highlanders descended from the earliest subjects of the Scottish kings, and men from Carrick and Galloway who owned a local as well as a national attachment to the fortunes of King Robert. from being the tenants of his patrimonial estates. They were in general animated by implacable hostility against the nation whose ambitious sovereigns had for thirty years wrought them so much evil, joined to an earnest desire, at whatever hazard, to work out the deliverance of their country.

When Bruce learned that the English army had reached Edinburgh, thirty miles from his position, he drew out his troops in battle array upon a field, or park, a little to the south of Stirling, where certain irregularities of ground promised him greater advantages than if he had remained precisely in front of that town and fortress. Arranging his first line in three divisions, whereof the right was protected by the banks of the rivulet Bannockburn, while the left rested upon the village of St. Ninians, he himself assumed the command of a second line, or corps-de-reserve, which consisted chiefly of men from the remoter parts of his dominions. The commanders to whom he entrusted his foremost battalions, were those hardy warriors who had fought by his side, or in his interest, through the whole period of his struggles for the crown; one was his brother Edward, another his nephew, the celebrated Randolph Earl of Moray, a third Walter, High Steward of Scotland, who, through his daughter, was destined to give a long train of heirs to the kingdom. does not appear that many of the national nobility mingled in his army. They were still, perhaps, under scruples as to his right, or afraid of the eventual triumph of Edward. The host seems to have chiefly consisted of volunteer commoners, commanded by the King's own band of friends and fellow-adventurers. It contained no more than five hundred horse; but the King recollecting the instance of a late continental battle, where the French cavalry were defeated by Flemish pikemen, trusted to the firmness of his ranks, and to the hedge of long spears which they would present on every side, for the means of counteracting this disadvantage.

On the evening of Saturday the 22d of June, the enormous host of Edward slept at Falkirk. Continuing their march next day, they soon perceived the Scottish army lying in three or four detached masses along a series of gentle heights, and paused to consider the propriety of giving immediate battle. This question being soon determined in the negative, on account of the fatigued state of the army, the English sovereign caused his men to encamp for the night, and in the meantime sent off a party of eight hundred horse to attempt the succour of Stirling Castle.

Bruce was riding about among his troops, engaged in the

important business of animating them for the ensuing battle. when his experienced eye observed a cloud of dust, mingled with the glitter of armour, which suddenly rose to the left of his position. This was occasioned by the party sent to the relief of the castle, which, by taking a low and circuitous road, had almost got past his army unobserved. Offended at the negligence which had permitted such an advantage to the enemy, he rode up to Randolph, who commanded in that quarter, pointed out the design of the English party, and angrily told him, in the language of chivalry, that a rose had fallen from his chaplet. To repair such an error, a warrior of that age could do no less than peril his life. Randolph immediately set off with a few hundreds of his infantry, and desperately attacked the English cavalry. They instantly turned upon him, and surrounded his little band in every direction. The hardy Earl, throwing his men into a square, fought with the energy of a knight seeking to retrieve an endangered reputation. His men, seconding his wishes, resisted the repeated attacks of the English with the greatest firmness. or, admitting them partially into their ranks, fought desperate combats hand to hand with their daggers, in which they were generally successful. The Scottish army could perceive this conflict, and easily calculate the danger in which their countrymen were placed. Sir James Douglas intreated permission from the King to go to his friend's succour; but Bruce would not grant it, being resolved that Randolph should himself retrieve his error, or suffer its proper consequences. Douglas, however, was unable to obey his master, and rode off with a party towards the scene of the conflict. Just as he approached, he perceived that the Earl of Moray was about to gain a victory unassisted; and. with the generous feeling which governed the conduct of military men in that age, he resolved not to interfere with the honours of his friend. He stood by, a patient but delighted spectator, while Randolph caused the broken ranks of the English to fly back to their main position. The memory of this valiant achievement is preserved by the common people in the name which they give to the spot, Randal's (that is, Randolph's) Field.

Another circumstance auspicious to the Scottish arms, occurred about the same time. King Robert was riding about in front of

his ranks, attended by a little cluster of friends, from whom he was distinguished only by a slight coronet of gold, which he wore above his helmet, when an English knight, named Sir Henry de Bohun, formed the ambitious wish of entering into private combat with him, in the hope of putting a sudden end to the war by one blow. Setting his powerful horse in motion, and placing his lance in the rest, he galloped towards the King of Scots, who, comparatively unarmed, and mounted on a much smaller animal, must have seemed very ill fitted to withstand his attack. Bruce eved him advancing, and did not avoid the meeting, as he might have justifiably done, but on the contrary rode out a little way from his circle of friends, as if anxious to afford every advantage to the design of his assailant. He seemed for a moment to await the shock of the English soldier, and both armies looked in breathless anxiety for a result which they knew was either to accomplish or mar the purpose for which they were assembled. A moment passed—a crash was heard—and Robert Bruce was seen still mounted on his little palfrey, while Sir Henry de Bohun lay a breathless corpse at his feet. The King had dexterously avoided the lance of the English knight, and, rising in his stirrups as he swept past, had broken head and helmet, and dashed him to the earth by one blow of his battleaxe, which was shivered to pieces by the blow, leaving only the handle in his grasp. The friends who instantly came round the King, could not help remonstrating against his imprudence, in thus risking his life at a time when it was of such importance to his people. He only glanced down at the stump of his weapon, and remarked, "I am sorry for my good battle-axe." He considered, in all probability, that though the risk was great, yet the shame of retreat from a personal combat at such a moment, would have had an unfavourable effect upon the minds of his soldiers; whereas an achievement like this, which long experience made him almost sure of performing to his desire, was calculated to inspire his men with additional confidence in their leader. It was thus with confirmed, though still modest hopes of success, that the Scots lay down for the night; while the English, on the other hand, though vet entertaining the highest expectations from their numbers, and from their national reputation for superiority, were sensibly dashed at the failure of the detachment for the relief of Stirling, and at this still more striking omen.

Both armies rose betimes next morning, and fitted themselves for the encounter. The English, who had spent the night riotously, included in their preparations only such arrangements as referred to the defence and nourishment of the person. Scots regarded also the edification of the mind. They heard mass said by the Abbot of Inchaffray in front of their lines before breakfast, and afterwards knelt with devout feeling to receive the personal benediction of that holy man, who, for the purpose of bestowing it, passed along bare-footed and bare-headed, displaying in his hands a crucifix supposed to be of miraculous sanctity. The English King, who was now advancing with his proud squadrons, saw this last motion of the Scots, and exclaimed with delight, that they were kneeling to ask his mercy. To this a Scottish baron, who had long been in his service, made answer. that they asked mercy, but it was from heaven, not from the King of England. Edward concealed his mortification by ordering the charge to be sounded.

. Firm in their ranks, each battalion under its local banner, the host of Bruce awaited the formidable attack. The first charge was made by the English cavalry under the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, and it was firmly met by the division under Edward Bruce, the King's brother. In a short time the other parts of the English line came up, and were stoutly met by the small columns opposed to them. According to the custom of their country, the Scottish infantry depended chiefly on their long spears, which when presented in a firm and regular manner, formed a defence hardly to be broken even by cavalry. Where the conflict came to personal rencontre, the Scottish soldier handled his short battle-axe and dagger with good effect. An arrow-flight as thick as rain proceeded from the English archers; but King Robert was fortunately able to put a speedy end to that annovance by his small party of light horse, whose attack the bowmen had no proper means of resisting. The battle then became a widely-extended single combat. "It was awful at this moment," says a historian who is supposed to have drawn his narration from eye-witnesses,* "to hear the noise of the four battalions fighting in a line, the clang of arms, the shouts of the knights as they raised their war-cry; to see the flight of the arrows, which maddened the horses; the alternate sinking and rising of the banners, and the ground streaming with blood, and covered with shreds of armour, broken spears, pennons, and rich scarfs, torn and soiled with blood and clay; and to listen to the groans of the wounded and dying."

At this crisis, it happened that a large body of servants and camp-followers, who had been placed by King Robert behind a hill, chose to make their appearance with sheets displayed banner-wise, and with wild cries, so as to impress the English with the idea of a large force come to the assistance of the Scotch. No more was necessary to decide the fight. The press of battle relaxed. The heavy masses of the English began to sway back like a receding tide. The Scotch, hitherto fighting on the defensive, began to assume the assailant. Cries of "On them! on them! They fail! they fail!" resounded over the field. The King called out his ensenyie with redoubled vehemence, and charged the enemy with a fury which nothing could withstand.

The slaughter on neither side had as yet been great. It now became immense on the part of the fugitives. As they passed through the narrow defiles behind their position, the Scots made grievous havoc among them, taking unrestrained revenge for the slaughters and oppressions of the last thirty years, and only sparing such persons of rank as were likely to yield a good ransom. The King of England escaped with a small party, and found his first resting-place at Dunbar Castle, sixty miles distant, from which a mean fishing-boat afforded him a passage to England. His camp and baggage, containing immense wealth, became the prey of the Scots, who further gained prodigious sums by the ransom of their prisoners. As a ludicrous commentary upon the disappointed vain-glory of the English King, Bruce caused the monkish poet, who had been taken prisoner, to

^{*} Barbour.

celebrate the success of the Scottish army; which he did in a set of leonine verses expressive only of the terror with which the battle had inspired him. As a matter of course, Stirling Castle now fell into the hands of King Robert, whereby his conquest of the whole country was completed.

CHAPTER III.

BOBERT BRUCE-JAMES I.

Robert Bruce reigned with glory for fifteen years after the battle of Bannockburn; during which time he made many inroads into England, inflicting upon the northern counties as far as Humber, a severe vengeance for the distresses into which his country and himself had been plunged by the ambitious policy of the English sovereigns. The severity of this system of warfare was excessive, though held in that rude age to be justified by the previous circumstances. The English Parliament was at length compelled, in 1328, to conclude a peace with Scotland, in terms of which the right of Bruce, and the independency of the kingdom were at once acknowledged. Before this time Edward II. had been deposed, and his son Edward III. a minor, placed on the throne.

Among the transactions of the latter part of Bruce's reign, was an invasion of Ireland, then, as well as now, the weakest point in the English state. His brother Edward, at the head of a small but hardy band of Scots, reduced a great part of that island, and was actually crowned its King. During the warfare, Bruce himself led over a reinforcement, and took a personal share in the campaign, which was conducted with great barbarity. Edward Bruce was at length overthrown in a pitched battle, and it was with some difficulty that the relics of his army regained their native country. Bruce died June 7, 1329, at the age of fifty-six, completely outworn with infirmities caused by the hardships of his middle life, Being unreconciled to the Pope for his sacri-

legious murder of Cumin, he directed that, by way of expiating his offence, his heart should be carried to Jerusalem, whither he had long entertained a wish to go, if circumstances would have permitted, to prosecute the Holy War. He died with more of the regards and regrets of his subjects than perhaps any other monarch before or since. He was honoured by his Parliament with a splendid marble monument, of French manufacture, which was erected over his tomb in the Abbey of Dunfermline: a tribute of popular respect which has been paid to no other Scottish monarch. We may judge of the deep impression which Bruce had made upon his age from other circumstances—from the care evinced by the people to maintain his dynasty even when degenerate, and their unfailing resolution, at whatever risk, to preserve the independency which he had wrought out for them. We also see it surviving, in the minds of the Scottish people at large, even to this day. Among other venerators of Bruce, it is agreeable to find the successive members of his own family. James I. meeting, a century after, with an old woman who remembered seeing him, inquired anxiously regarding his personal appearance. James III. at the battle of Sauchie in 1488, carried a sword which had been wielded by his great ancestor. In the accounts of the furniture of the palaces at a somewhat later period, a cup and other things, supposed to have belonged to King Robert, formed part of the royal stock of plate. And we find Queen Mary, later still, endeavouring to awaken the loyalty of her disaffected subjects, by reminding them that she was of the blood of Bruce.

The death of King Robert gave the succession to his only son, David II. a child of four years; and the government was consigned to Randolph Earl of Moray. In this state of things the Baliol family was encouraged to revive its forfeited claims; and the crisis was favourable for such an attempt. Edward III., who proved to be a monarch of military genius equal to that of his grandfather, entertained the design of asserting a claim to the kingdom of France. To do so with effect, it was necessary in the first place to chain up the Scots, whom the French, by alliance or bribery, had it always in their power to use as the means of creating a diversion upon England. Edward therefore bethought him, since it seemed impossible to subdue the people entirely, that

his end might be accomplished by setting up a prince of the Baliol stock, who would be his sworn tool and slave. He assisted Edward Baliol, son of the deposed John, to make an attempt upon Scotland. That personage landed on the shores of the Firth of Forth, August 1332. He was met at Dupplin by a Scottish army under the Earl of Mar, successor to Moray in the Regency; and such was the fortunate effect of a surprise which he put into practice, that he defeated a host four times his superior, and was subsequently crowned at Scone. David II., now eight years of age, with a princess of England to whom he had been affianced at the last peace, was sent to France. Edward Baliol continued in his usurped seat two months, was then defeated and obliged to fly the country, by a party loval to the Bruce dynasty; but there still continued a war for the subjugation of Scotland. Many mutual inroads took place, and the frontiers of both countries were dreadfully ravaged. The Scots lost one decisive battle at Halidon Hill, June 20, 1333, but were nevertheless able to continue their defence. The events of the few subsequent years, as indeed of nearly the whole of this century, were chiefly confined to alternate inroads and treaties, without ever producing either a fair war or a cordial peace. Edward III., however, accomplished his chief object—that of keeping the Scots employed, while he gained the celebrated battles of Cressy and Poitiers, by which he had so nearly reduced the French monarchy under his own power.

David II. returned from France in 1341; and though only eighteen years of age, at once put himself at the head of those patriots, who had defended the country during his absence. But this monarch was different from his father in every respect except personal valour. Whether from the natural bent of his character, or from his French education, he was much addicted to pleasure; and he exhibited the coldness, selfishness, and insensibility to generous and elevated principles which so often accompany such a disposition. In 1346, while conducting an incursion into England, he was taken prisoner in a battle near Durham, and conducted in triumph to London. He there formed one in a singular procession, which must be well remembered by the reader of English history, in which the Black Prince, son of Edward III. rode through the streets, with the captive King of France riding on

one side of his little palfrey, and the King of Scots riding on the other.

While David was a prisoner in England, the country fell naturally under the authority of his nephew and heir presumptive, Robert, the High Steward of Scotland, grandson of Robert Bruce by his only daughter Marjory. This person, who happened to be six or eight years older than his royal uncle, and of a virtuous character, conducted the affairs of the kingdom with discretion. Edward, in 1356, led into the country an army much greater than that with which he gained the battle of Cressy; yet, by the prudence of the Steward in avoiding a general rencounter, and by the natural peculiarities of the country, which were its best defence, he was obliged to return without attaining his object. It may thus be seen that, even without the animating presence of a king, who was in that age considered the natural leader of the national armies, Scotland was still able to protect her independency.

· The admiration, however, with which this may be regarded, becomes yet greater when we hear of the constancy displayed by the country under a severer trial which was about to befall it. Edward, having found five invasions of Scotland unavailing, now changed his policy. He resolved to win Scotland by smoother means. In the first place he concluded a peace with the country. and for a ransom of a hundred thousand merks restored its monarch. He then threw his own country open to the visits of the Scottish nobles, and, by affecting generous feelings towards them, and towards Scotland generally, endeavoured to overcome the prejudices of the people. By a long and complicated series of intrigues, he at length attached a large party to his interest; and, strange to say, King David was at its head. The king, it appears, had now no hope of heirs of his own body. With feelings which we find every day exemplified, he did not like the collateral family which awaited his death in order to step into his seat. Having lived no more than five years of adult life in Scotland, he had little feeling of country. He was rather a Frenchman, or an Englishman, than a Scot. He therefore readily yielded to the blandishments of King Edward, and, incredible as it may seem of the son of Robert Bruce, consented to become the chief agent in a scheme for getting Lionel, the third son of the English king, to be accepted by the Scottish estates as his heir. These, however, met the proposal of David with a burst of honest indignation, and expressed in open Parliament their resolution never upon any account to submit to an Englishman. The craven monarch was so cowed by the aspect which his people assumed on this occasion, as to withdraw the proposal. Thus we see, more than four centuries ago, and in the ruder portion of the British island, public opinion exerting occasionally an irresistible control over the government.

It was in 1363 that David brought forward his infamous proposal. From that period till his death, in 1371, Edward was, at least able, by his means, to keep the country in check. At the latter period, as David, though a second time married, had left no heirs, Robert, the High Steward, succeeded to the throne at the mature age of fifty-six.

This new sovereign was the first of that race which is so well-known in history under the name of the Stewarts. They acquired this surname, according to common custom, from the office they had held under the Scottish kings before their accession to the throne. The first of the family known in Scotland was Walter, who held the office of High Steward under David I. more than two hundred years before this time; being probably a cadet of the noble Anglo-Norman family of Fitz-Alan, in England, who like many such persons, had sought for employment and preferment in Scotland. Walter, the sixth in descent from this person, distinguished himself so much at Bannockburn, where he held a principal command, as to be preferred to marry Marjory, the King's daughter. Robert, now become King, was the issue of this match.

Robert, though in earlier life distinguished as a warrior, was now inclined to peace. He is described as having been a sovereign of easy access and pleasant address, possessed of a person whose commanding stature and dignity might have inspired awe, but of such graceful and kindly manners, that he only excited affection. His title to the crown having always been a popular object, as identified with the cause of national independency, he commanded at his accession the heartiest acclamations of his subjects. It is observable, however, that the nobles, who had lately beheld him

in their own rank, and many of whom yet cherished a wish to forward the English usurpation, did not hail him with much cordiality. It seems to have only been by dint of his personal prudence, his extensive connections through the means of a numerous family of sons and daughters, the favour in which he was held by the people at large, and some minuter circumstances, that he escaped a great deal of trouble from that body, many members of which had advanced, during the long period of the weakness of the crown, to a condition of power and influence such as had never before been known in Scotland.

In 1377, Edward III. died, after having seen the efforts of fifty years to reduce France and Scotland end in disappointment. His grandson, Richard II., who succeeded him at the age of eleven vears, was unable for some time to give any disturbance to Scotland. It was now rather the turn of the French and Scots, who had suffered so many aggressions from England, to attack that country while under the disadvantage of a minority. This was done in several instances with considerable success, the French sending troops to Scotland to join the armies which were there raised for the purpose. These warlike proceedings were undertaken rather at the instance of the nobles than of the King: for he, as already mentioned, was inclined to peace. In one of the incursions, which took place in 1388, the Earl of Douglas, who was by far the most puissant of the Scottish grandees, fought the battle of Otterburn with Henry Percy, an incident which must be familiar to most readers, as the ground-work of the ballad entitled Chevu Chase.

Robert II. died in 1389, leaving the crown to his son, Robert III., who unfortunately happened to be a person of feeble intellect, though of extremely amiable dispositions. In consequence of his mental deficiency, the government was chiefly entrusted to his younger brothers, the Earls of Fife and Buchan, the former of whom took charge of the southern parts of the country, while the latter assumed the management of the north. This was a great evil to Scotland, for the Earl of Fife, who afterwards procured the title of Duke of Albany (the first instance of that rank in the kingdom), was a man of timid, cruel, and dissimulative character, while his brother Buchan was of so ferocious

a disposition as to acquire the popular nickname of the Wolf of Badenoch. The other children of Robert II. in this age acquired an extensive footing in Perthshire, where their descendants, in great numbers, still possess lands, or have sunk into the condition of commoners.

During this reign, with the exception of an invasion in 1400. by Henry IV. of England, the usurping successor of Richard II., the country enjoyed relaxation from external warfare. Its history, therefore, becomes, in a great measure, the history of the royal family. In 1402, Albany, from jealousy of the increasing influence of the Duke of Rothsay, the King's eldest son, caused him to be starved to death in Falkland Palace. The King was unable to punish this crime, and could only endeavour to save his second son from a similar fate, by embarking him for France, under the pretence that he should pursue his education in that polite country. Unfortunately, as this young prince was coasting along the eastern shore of England, he was seized by an English cruiser, and notwithstanding that it was a time of truce, brought prisoner before Henry IV., who, for no other reason, it would appear, than that he might have a hostage for the good behaviour of Scotland, immediately consigned him to durance in Windsor Castle.

About this time a person appeared in Scotland who was supposed to be the dethroned King Richard II., though that prince was declared by Henry IV. to have died long ago in England. The Duke of Albany immediately took him under charge; and, being anxious that the young Prince James should be detained in England, so that he might himself enjoy the government without interruption, held up the mysterious person who had fallen into his hands as a kind of bugbear to the English sovereign, insinuating that if the rightful heir of Scotland should be let loose, so also should the rightful monarch of England. Thus the two usurpers (for such they might both be considered) kept each other in check, very much after the manner of two ordinary felons who know each other's secrets. The event had a fatal effect upon the weak and aged King Robert, who died in 1406, of grief, it is said, for the captivity of his son.

. Albany continued to act as Regent of Scotland, without chal-

lenge, for many years, and, as he took some pains to reconcile the people to his government, it is said to have been not unpopular. He at length seems to have entertained a hope that he might transmit the supreme rule to his children. His eldest son, Murdoch, having been taken prisoner in an incursion into England, several years before Prince James, he negotiated for the delivery of that person, without making the least attempt to release the rightful heir of the throne. Accordingly, at his death in 1419, Murdoch succeeded to the office of Governor, as to an hereditary right, no parliament being called to give the sanction which was legally necessary for such a proceeding.

Murdoch was a Prince as much weaker than his father, as David II. was weaker than Robert Bruce. He governed, or appeared to govern, for three or four years; while the great nobles, in reality, managed the country as they pleased, without regard to him. A change had by this time taken place in the relations of Scotland and England. Henry IV. died in 1414, after having, in a great measure, secured the crown to his family. His son, the distinguished Henry V. prosecuted a glorious career of conquest in France, which was not interrupted till his death. All fear on account of the supposed King Richard was closed by the death of that person at Stirling, in 1419. There now, therefore, remained to the Duke of Bedford, Protector of England in the minority of Henry VI., little cause for detaining the rightful heir of Scotland in captivity.

The imbecile Murdoch is supposed to have favoured the restoration of this prince, either from a disgust at the troubles of government, or from resentment at the ingratitude and violence of his heir-apparent. It is at least certain that he entered into the negotiation for James's enlargement with an appearance of good will. Accordingly, in 1424, after a confinement of nineteen years, James, who had become lawful King of Scotland in 1406, by the death of his father, was liberated by the English for a consideration of forty thousand pounds.

CHAPTER IV.

JAMES THE FIRST.

The condition of the country at this period demands some attention. First, as to the southern portion, a considerable part of the border or frontier, including Roxburghshire and Annandale, was for some time held and garrisoned by the English. The remainder of the country south of the Forth, at least towards the east, was generally kept in a waste condition, as a kind of defence for the rest; in consequence of which the English, in their formal invasions, were generally obliged to turn back from starvation before getting within sight of an enemy. Upon the whole, the south of Scotland may be described as in this age used only for the same purpose as the walls built in earlier times by the Roman emperors; it was a wide trench, fortified by famine and desolation.

It was in Fife and Stirlingshire, in Lanarkshire, Perthshire, Angus, and the low countries beyond the latter district, that the strength of the kingdom lay. The Highlands were in a condition purely barbarous, except that they were under subjection to a set of chiefs generally of Norman or Anglo-Saxon lineage, who had in the course of time acquired a right of seignory over them. The Western Islands were so far different from the Highlands, that the chief who ruled over them professed entire independency of the King of Scotland. One of these lords, in 1411, fought a battle with the lieutenant of the Governor Albany, at Harlaw, exactly as one state fights with another. As for the Orkney and Shetland Islands, they were held by the King of Denmark, and had been so from the earliest times.

The limited kingdom thus formed, as it scarcely exceeded one of the members of the Saxon Heptarchy in political importance, and could never be considered as altogether standing on its own foundation, was perhaps hardly worthy of the name of kingdom in the modern sense. It might rather be described as a small northern state which happened to emerge from the dark ages in a

separate and independent condition, and whose military leader happened to have assumed the title, common in those times even to small naval adventurers, of King. Insignificant, however, as it was in the family of European nations, it had borrowed a great number of institutions from the English, which it presented on a miniature scale. Like England, it had its parliament, though with this difference, that the three estates of nobility, clergy, and burgesses, (the last admitted for the first time in the reign of Baliol.) sat all in one house. It had also a complete set of stateofficers, who were nearly the same in title and authority as the English. As yet there was no regular court of justice; the King seems to have been himself both civil and criminal judge. this and some other matters which indicate civilization, the Scotch . were behind the English. They had no proper law court till 1532, when the Session was instituted. Neither had they any university till 1410, when that of St. Andrews was founded by the clergy, as a school of theological education. It is surprising. nevertheless, that they were as forward as their southern neighbours in the cultivation of general literature. Barbour and Wintoun, who wrote poetry in the Anglo-Norman language during the fourteenth century, are more than equal to the contemporary English writers. Perhaps, in other things the Scotch might have kept pace with their ancient rivals, if they had not been so constantly occupied in the business of war.

Owing to the weakness of the successive sovereigns, and the unpopularity of at least one of them, together with the want of ancient title in the Stewart family, the nobles had now come to possess great influence in the State. In a feudal government, it is the natural result of incapacity, or minority, or senility in the sovereign, that the nobles should start forward into power; for, under such circumstances, the country at once looks to them as a regency. Hence we find the apparent phenomenon of a Parliament—that is a convention of nobles, exerting their own will in opposition to David II., and in general causing him to take the course they prescribe.

From the frequent invasions of the English during the fourteenth century, Scotland did not advance so fast, either in commerce or agriculture, as it otherwise might have done. Yet it is surprising to see how the genius of the nation made its way under all difficulties. The people at this period exported great quantities of corn, wool, hides, and other raw productions to the continent; bringing back manufactured goods and articles of luxury, or arms and accoutrements. As yet there were scarcely any artizans in the country; the incorporations of such persons are almost all dated from the succeeding century. The whole industry of the country was as yet exerted in the languid employments of the farmer and the shepherd.

It was to the government of such a country, when under all the disorganization consequent upon an imbecile regency, that James the First acceded, in 1424, after a captivity of nineteen years, and in the thirtieth year of his age.

There is scarcely any personage in the whole history of Scotland, whose personal qualities and circumstances are so apt to dazzle the imagination as those of the young Prince now introduced to notice. Gifted with extraordinary mental abilities, possessed of uncommon energy of character, informed with all the learning, and polished with all the accomplishments of that age; young, handsome, athletic; a poet, a musician, and a man of general taste; such is the round of glittering qualifications which is presented to us with the name of James. On the other hand. a newly emancipated captive, after an unheard-of period of durance; bringing with him a young English Princess, whose heart he is supposed to have gained by his verses while in prison; and coming, with all his graceful gifts and attributes, to attempt the civilization of his native kingdom; what circumstances could be better fitted to interest a generous people in his favour? Unfortunately, he was deficient in cool sagacity and prudence, and too little disposed to consider the difficulties which lay in the way of his reforming schemes. Nor was there wanting a strong element of severity in the nature of this Prince.

One of his earliest acts was to bring the whole of the surviving members of the family of Albany to the block. These persons, as his nearest relations, had conducted the government in his absence. Murdoch, the Duke, is said to have done so without commission from parliament. It has never been shown, however, were even insinuated, that he was guilty of any malversation of

office; while it is evident that he was sanctioned in his possession of the government, both by custom and by the consent of the nation. That he did not attempt to set himself up as a usurper, is proved by a public document, in which he makes reservation of the obedience due to the King, then captive in England, as well as by the activity he displayed in procuring James's liberation. Yet, though it be absolutely impossible to discern the fault of this nobleman, he and his two sons, Walter and Alexander, together with his father-in-law the Earl of Lennox, a man approaching to eighty years of age, were all beheaded on the Castle-Hill of Stirling, within a year after James's return. These acts were popularly ascribed to revenge, united with a desire of annexing the estates of the condemned nobles.

James's subsequent proceedings were of a scarcely less unpopular kind. He caused Parliament to pass a series of statutes for the improvement of commerce, agriculture, and other departments of the national economy—generally of a wise and worthy kind in themselves, but imprudent in as far as they were brought hastily upon a people unprepared for them, and who regarded them as a set of innovations suggested to him by English example. The consequence was, that the people grumbled excessively, and began to look upon their new King as a tyrant.

It actually does appear that one of the great aims of James was to restore the crown to its ancient influence, and to reduce the nobles to their former subordination. For this purpose he found it necessary to enter into a strong alliance with the clergy. a body which, in his time, possessed great power, and was the only part of the state that he could balance off against the nobility. By the support which he thus procured, he was able to advance a considerable way in his plans; but it was at almost as great an expense as that which the ancient magicians were said to incur, when they called in the aid of demons to execute their supernatural projects. James was induced by the clergy, in return for their services, to suppress an attempt which was made in his reign to introduce the Lollard, or Wickliffe heresy; in other words, the dawning light of the Reformation. He sanctioned the burning of one Peter Crawar, a Bohemian physician, who visited Scotland as a secret missionary of that faith; and he caused a statute to be enacted in Parliament against all such attempts. At the same time it must be allowed, that the King probably felt as sincere an antipathy to the new doctrines as the clergy.

James also entertained the ambitious wish of subjecting to his dominion the whole of the remote districts hitherto independent of his authority, so that his kingdom might experience no further annoyance, either from their internal turbulence, or from their frequent alliances with England. For this purpose he established himself, with a Parliament of his friends, at Inverness; and, having summoned all the Highland chiefs, seized them when they came, and precipitated them into a dungeon. It is strange to find that the first acquaintance of these feudal dignitaries with the family of Stewart, for whose sake they were destined, in after times, to do and suffer so much, took place under circumstances of this kind. Eventually, James only put three of them to death as an example; the rest he set free, upon a promise of homage and peaceable behaviour. The Lord of the Isles was among the latter number.

No sooner had this personage got his liberty, than he flew to arms for the purpose of revenging the insult which he had suffered. As the Highlands in general burned with the same indignant feelings, he soon collected an army of ten thousand men, with whom he marched down to the Low Country, and burnt the town where he had lately suffered so severe a mortification.

James lost no time in marching against him; overtook his desultory army in Lochaber; attacked and overthrew it; and the insurgent chief was soon brought to sue for mercy. This boon was granted on condition of his performing a very humiliating rite. He had to appear half-naked before the high altar of Holyrood Abbey at Edinburgh, where the King and Queen were holding festival, and there, delivering up his sword, was obliged to beg upon his knees for a public pardon. The result of these prompt measures on the part of the King was, that during the remainder of his reign, with little interruption, the Highlands and Isles paid him a nominal obedience, and acknowledged their countries to form part of the kingdom of Scotland.

From the very imperfect state of the public records during this

reign, it is difficult to arrive at a knowledge of either the motives or results of many of James's acts. Upon the whole, it seems unquestionable, that he was chiefly actuated by an ardent and uncalculating desire of reforming his subjects; and that they, on their part, considered the measures which he took for that purpose as vexatious and tyrannical. With the nobles there was still deeper cause of offence. They beheld his frequent forfeitures and imprisonments of the members of their body, his repeated edicts. limiting their retinues and ordering a show of their charters, with ill-suppressed wrath. It is scarcely, indeed, to be supposed, that men of high ancestry and great possessions, could very quietly endure the indiscreet and overbearing manner of this young king, whose grandfather they had lately seen occupying a station in the kingdom rather inferior to their own, and who had himself been purchased back by them from a degrading captivity.

It is chiefly from the circumstances of the King's death, which happen to have been very minutely chronicled, that these inferences are to be made. The manner of that event was as follows:—

There was a gentleman named Sir Robert Graham—a cadet of the family since ennobled under the title of Montrose-who had been an adherent of the house of Albany, and regarded the policy of the King towards that family, and the nobles in general, with very indignant feelings. James having at length given this person a more moving cause of offence, by depriving his nephew, with slight colour of law, of a title and estate, he became so much infuriated as to resolve upon openly braving the royal power. He proposed to the nobles, that if they would undertake to back him in the attempt, he should go up to the King in Parliament, and arrest him as a traitor to the State. To this they all consented: and he unhesitatingly put the scheme into execution. At the next meeting of the national senate, he seized the sovereign as he sat in his chair, and addressed him in these words :- "Sir, I arrest you in the name of all the three estates of your realm, here now assembled; for just as your liege people are bound and sworn to obey your Majesty, so are you sworn to govern your people righteously and preserve them from all wrong. Is it not so?" added Graham, turning with surprise to the nobles, who, instead of rising to assist him, sat still upon their seats, confounded, it would appear, with a renewed impression of the severe character of the King. James took advantage of the pause, and ordered Graham into custody as a traitor. He was immediately carried out of the hall, muttering as he went, in a tone of indignation, "Unhappy is the fate of him who tries to serve the commonwealth."

The King did not think it safe or necessary to put Graham to death for this offence; but caused him to be forfaulted and He retired to the Highlands, where he soon learned banished. the lamentable fate which befel his wife and children in consequence of his forfeiture. Then bending the whole powers of his mind upon the one idea of revenge, he vowed that either the King should die, or he himself should cease to live. There was a practice then in use in England, by which, in the event of a king doing evident wrong to one of his subjects, the said subject was entitled to disavow his allegiance, and hold the sovereign at open war; it was called Diffidation, and did not become obsolete till the increasing despotism of the Kings of England introduced the belief that they were irresponsible to their subjects. pliance, apparently with this custom, Graham sent a letter to King James, signed and sealed with his own hand, in which he told him that, for his intolerable tyranny, and the destruction he had brought upon himself, his wife, and children, he renounced his allegiance. defied him, and would take the first opportunity that might occur of slaying him. James was so much alarmed by this cartel, as to put a sum equal to fifteen hundred English nobles upon Graham's head.

At Christmas 1436, the King went to spend the holidays at Perth, and was there lodged in the Blackfriars' Monastery, without the town walls. As he was upon his journey thither, a Highland woman started into his way, and told him that, if he crossed the Firth of Forth, he never again should return alive. This made some impression on his mind; for he had read a prophecy in a book, that a King of Scots was to be killed that year.* But, on

^{*} The end of the year was at March 25, according to the practice which obtained till the year 1600.

some of his attendants calling the woman but a drunken fool, he passed on without regarding her warning.

On the evening of the 20th of February, he was enjoying himself in the midst of his court, had taken off part of his clothes, and was preparing to retire to rest, when suddenly the clash of arms, the cries of overpowered warders, and the rush of alarmed attendants towards his chamber, broke upon his ear. The prophecy, the warning of the Highland woman, and the threats of Sir Robert Graham, were at once remembered. It appears that the female seer had applied that very evening at his chamber door. expressing an eager anxiety to see him, and that she had been refused admittance by the servants. The Queen, who was now with her husband, hastened to ascertain that the doors were fast. But the treachery of a chamberlain, who was privy to the conspiracy, had withdrawn all the bars; and the arm which a lady of the name of Douglas most heroically substituted for one of them, was in a moment snapped by the conspirators. The King, but too well aware of his danger, endeavoured to force the stauncheons of the window, in order to escape, but in vain. He then seized a pair of tongs, forced up a board in the floor, and dropped into a vault below. When the conspirators entered, they found the Queen standing, as it were, fixed to the floor, her agitation so great as to deprive her of speech, and her looks like those of a maniac. One of the ruffians wounded her with his bill, and would have taken her life, but for the interposition of a son of Graham, who called out that they came not to war upon women.

The board raised by the King having been dropped into its proper place by one of the Queen's attendants, the conspirators could find no trace of him, though every article of furniture in the room was overturned, and not a single corner or cranny left unsearched. At length they retired into other rooms, and for a space left this important chamber in quiet. James then conceiving that the danger was past, and being impatient to leave his place of refuge, called to the women to bring sheets, and pull him up. They did so, and in the attempt one fell down into the vault. This causing some noise, a traitor, who happened to know the arrangement of the rooms, and who was as yet close by, at once conceived where the King was, brought a torch to the opening in

the floor, and called out to his companions that he had at length found out the bride they had been searching for all night; some of the conspirators having given out, that the purpose of this enterprise was only to carry away one of the court ladies. Thereupon all within hearing came back to the King's room, and one, styled Sir John Hall, leapt down into the vault with a large knife in his hand. James, catching the moment when this knight sunk upon the floor, threw him down beneath his feet. A second descending, was treated in the same manner by the King; and the gripe of the royal hand upon their throats was so violent as to leave the marks for a month. It was in vain, however, that the King strove to possess himself of one of their weapons; he only got his hands cut by the attempt, and lost the energy which he might have reserved for a deadlier struggle.

Just as the King, who, it must be remarked, was a somewhat large and heavy man, was waxing faint with his exertions, his sworn enemy, the vengeful Graham, descended upon him. When the monarch saw this terrible apparition, his spirit quailed, and he called for mercy. "Thou cruel tyrant," cried the avenger, "thou never hadst mercy of even those born of thy blood, nor of any others that came within thy danger: therefore no mercy shalt thou have here!"-" Then, at least," exclaimed the miserable King, " let me have a confessor for the good of my soul."—" Thou shalt have no other," answered Graham, "than this sword:" and with that he thrust his weapon repeatedly through his victim's body, the King repeatedly crying, while life remained, that he would give him half his kingdom for life. Graham, it is said, was at length so far moved by the King's cries, as to stay his hand; but his companions above threatened to take his own life if he should spare that of the King, and he was forced to conclude his bloody work. Sixteen wounds were afterwards found in James's breast alone, without counting those in other parts of his body.

Thus fell James the First, a victim evidently to the indiscretion with which he used faculties of a very high order, and to the vices of cruelty and avarice: for with no less is he universally charged by the writers of his own time. His murderers, among whom turned out to be his paternal uncle, the Earl of Athol, were put to death, at the instigation of his widow, with tortures similar to what are related of the North American savages, and such as occur at no other period of Scottish history, even the most barbarous.

CHAPTER V.

JAMES II.-JAMES III.

James I. by his wife Jane, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, and great-grand-daughter of Edward III. left one son James, a child of six years, besides six daughters, the most of whom were older.* It is supposed (but the imperfect chronicles of the times render the point very obscure) that, some time before his death, he made an arrangement by which his widow was to enjoy the regency in the event of his leaving a minor heir; and accordingly we find it was by the energy of that princess that his murderers were so promptly seized and punished. Almost immediately, however, a new arrangement appears in the dim records of this reign; the young king is entrusted to the keeping of Sir Alexander Livingstone, of Callendar, and the government to Sir William Crichton, the Chancellor of the kingdom; while the Queen-mother for the sake of the protection necessary to a

* By James's daughters, four of whom were married to different continental sovereigns, his blood is at this time found in every royal family in Europe. His eldest daughter, Margaret, was married to the Dauphin of France, afterwards Louis XI., but had an unhappy fate. Being gifted with her father's taste for literature, she abandoned almost every duty of her station for the composition of poetry. It is related of her that, for the sake of indulging her poetical reveries, she scarcely ever dressed herself as other women do, but appeared in a perpetual deshabille. Her enthusiasm, moreover, led her on one occasion to kiss the lips of a court poet as he lay asleep, telling her courtiers that she did so in honour of the mouth which had uttered so many fine things. She at last excited the voice of scandal by her extraordinary behaviour, and died of a calumny propagated against her, at the early age of twenty-two.

female of rank in that age, finds it necessary to marry a stout baron, Sir James Stuart, called the Black Knight of Lorn.

Livingstone and Crichton, as their names do not previously appear in history, are generally allowed to have been men of secondary rank, raised to eminence by James I. on account of their abilities. That such they were is very probable, as we find them immediately engaged in contentions with the higher nobility. The Earl of Douglas was particularly displeased with their elevation, and at once renounced their authority. This noble family had first come to distinction on account of its adherence to Bruce. Afterwards, as it increased in power, it happened by marriages to attain some obscure pretension to the honour of combining the claims of the families of Cumyn and Baliol. Having, by success in the French wars, further obtained the Duchy of Terouaine, in that country, it had now reached a degree of power and pride much too great for a subject of the Scottish crown, especially during the weakness of a minority. Indeed the history of the whole reign of James II., so far as it is known, is chiefly a history of the struggle which this family maintained against the royal authority.

We see the government at first resorting to very base means for reducing the dangers to which it was exposed by the Douglasses. In 1440, the Chancellor Crichton contrived, by fair promises, to wile a young Earl into the Castle of Edinburgh, accompanied by his only brother. Instead of a banquet, at which they expected to be introduced to the King, a black bull's head was brought in and set down before them at table; an ancient signal of doom. They were hurried to the court-yard, there subjected to a mock trial for treasons committed by their vassals, and immediately beheaded.

To this unfortunate Earl succeeded an aged uncle, who is said to have been so fat as to be unable to rise from bed all the time he enjoyed the dignity.* The terrors of the family were further abated on this occasion, by a great portion of the estates going to a female heir-at-law. Such a state of things was extremely

^{* &}quot;They say he had in him foure stane of talch (tallow) and mair."—Old Chronicle.

favourable to the government; but, unfortunately it was not of long continuance.

The fat Earl, having died in 1442, was succeeded by his son, a person of considerable activity of character, who immediately proceeded, by marrying his cousin, called the Fair Maid of Galloway, to re-unite the family estates. He then commenced a kind of war with Crichton and Livingstone, in which fortune gave him the victory. He procured the utter ruin of the latter statesman. deprived the other of all power except that connected with his office of Chancellor, and, constituting himself Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, began to rule in the King's name. He continued in possession of this power for several years, during which occurred the battle of the Sark (1448), where he gained a noted victory over an invading party of English. At length, the King approaching to manhood, and Sir William Crichton recovering some share of influence, the usurped authority of Douglas began to decline before a series of politic measures chiefly devised by that statesman, and he finally thought it prudent to retire. About the same time (1450), King James was married to a daughter of the house of Gueldres, in France, with whom he got a large dowry. The character of the King, now fully grown up, was found to be manly and energetic; his form was also robust, but his visage was much spoilt by a large red mark upon one of his cheeks, which caused him to be nicknamed the King with the fiery face.

In the year 1450, the Earl of Douglas relieved the kingdom of his presence for a little, by making a pilgrimage to Rome to witness the religious jubilee which then took place. In his absence, some of his vassals presumed upon the strength of his name to break the laws; and James did not scruple at once to march against them and inflict summary punishment. When Douglas heard of this, he hastened home in great wrath, and attempted to revenge himself by waylaying the Chancellor, who, as he perceived, was the real cause of the insult. Crichton, however, evaded him, and he was obliged to retire in high indignation to his castles in the country. He there formed a league with some discontented Earls in the north, for the purpose of

braving the royal authority, and committed a number of minor acts of violence calculated to rouse the anger of the King.

James, who seems to have entertained a sincere desire of maintaining good government in his dominions, was vexed by the turbulent behaviour of this nobleman. Resolving to try the effect of fair words before he should resort to a more hazardous trial, he invited the Earl to hold a conference in Stirling Castle; but did not, as some authors have asserted, give a safe conduct for the assurance of the turbulent noble and his train. Notwithstanding that the circumstance might have reminded Douglas of the fate of his cousin, and although he might have easily perceived that to maintain his treasonous designs, and argue upon them with his sovereign in his sovereign's court, was to put himself into a false position, he accepted this ill-omened invitation. An altercation arose at dinner; and Douglas insolently avowing that he would not break his engagement with the northern Earls, James stabbed him in a fit of passion, saying, that if no other thing could break that unlawful compact, it should be done with his dagger. Earl then received stabs or blows from all who were present, in compliance with a custom which seems to have obtained through many ages of Scottish history, arising out of a notion very likely to suggest itself in a rude age, that a crime, by being dissipated over a great number, was in some measure lessened to each individual, while the possibility of any one present acting afterwards as an accuser or a witness, was also done away with.

That James was only actuated by sudden passion in this deed, is evident from its imprudence. Five brothers, one of whom instantly became Earl of Douglas, while the other three were peers under different titles, survived to revenge the foul act. It was apt, also, to cause much of the popular favour to desert the King's side for that of the Douglasses; not, perhaps, from any horror for the murder, for the deed was too consonant to the spirit and practice of the age to excite such a feeling, but from a sensation of sympathy for a family of which two young and interesting representatives had successively met a hard fate.*

^{*} It is a curious trait of the age, that James afterwards entered a solemn protest in Parliament against the popular scandals which represented him as

Accordingly, we find that the struggle between the two rival families, as they might be called, had now reached its climax. One set of nobles ranked themselves upon one side, and another on another. After a great number of bloody encounters, chiefly in the north, the King took the decisive step of beleaguering Abercorn Castle, one of the principal strongholds of the hostile noble, who forthwith advanced with an army of forty thousand men to raise the siege. The King's hopes are said to have been about this time so much depressed, that he sometimes spoke of quitting his dominions, and taking refuge in Gueldres. He was fortunately prevented from doing so by his cousin, James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, a sagacious dignitary, who, after the death of Crichton, had become his chief counsellor. In this man's eye there were weak points in Douglas, which were invisible to the King.

One of the chief confederates of Douglas in this expedition was a baron of the name of Hamilton, a man of no high historical lineage, but who had in recent times acquired considerable estates in Clydesdale. This leader, having some reason to be disgusted with Douglas, was prevailed upon by Kennedy to desert his chief, and carry three hundred spears over to the King, the very day before a decisive engagement was expected to take place. It was not three hundred spears alone that he carried with him; he bore away credit, reputation, and good counsel from the Earl. Actuated by his example, a great number of other partizans went over to the King. In the morning, when Douglas rose to address himself to battle, he found, where forty thousand men had lain the day before, little more than his own clan and immediate retainers. The ascendancy of the family of Stuart was fixed by this incident. Douglas retired in despair, took refuge in England, and became a landless and attainted man. The baron who first deserted him, afterwards rose in a great measure on his ruins, and became the founder of the ducal house of Hamilton; which now enjoys the premier peerage of Scotland.

having committed the slaughter under a safe conduct. From the tenor of this strange document, it is not observable that the monarch cared for the scandal of the murder: he was only anxious that no one should suppose him capable of such an act under trust.

The title and power of the house of Douglas now disappears from the history of Scotland, like a noble river which is suddenly swallowed up in the earth, when at the very proudest point of its career. A secondary branch of the family, which had sided with the King in this struggle, partook largely of its spoils, and henceforth rises into importance. Under the well-known title of Angus, it occupies a broad space in the ensuing chapters of our history.

The destruction of the house of Douglas took place in 1455, when the King was in the vigour of youth; and, for five years after, the country was governed in such a style as showed that nothing was wanting but an adult and energetic ruler to preserve internal peace. Towards the end of that period, James was tempted by the dissensions of England, or perhaps by the machinations of the house of York against himself, to make an incursion over the border, and afterwards to lay siege to Roxburgh Castle. This fortress, and the town and castle of Berwick, had originally been in possession of the Scots, within whose territories they lay; but since the unfortunate wars with Edward I., they had generally been in the hands of the English; and James probably thought the present a good opportunity for winning them back. He was superintending the arrangement of his artillery before the walls of Roxburgh, when one of the rude engines happened to burst in going off, and a fragment striking the King upon the thigh, caused almost instantaneous death by the effusion of blood. This respectable monarch died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. leaving his throne to a child of six years, and his country to the prospect of another ruinous minority.

The conduct of the widowed Queen on this occasion was marked by great decision. Immediately on hearing the tidings, she hurried to the camp with her eldest son, presented him to the soldiers as their new sovereign, and with tears implored them not to desist from their enterprise till they had destroyed the fortress which had already cost them so dear. The host caught fresh energy from her manner, and, renewing their attacks upon the castle, soon caused it to surrender. It was immediately dismantled, so as to be unfit for ever again sheltering an enemy

against Scotland. Homage was at the same time done to the young King in the neighbouring abbey church of Kelso, as an interim ceremony, till such time as his coronation could be performed at Scone.

It might have heen expected, from the energy displayed by the Queen under such unhappy circumstances, that she should have averted a great deal of the usual evils of a minority. But, though abounding in piety, the grand virtue of that age—though a founder of churches and hospitals, and a woman of sense and courage—Mary of Guelderland was not believed to be a lady of pure life, and consequently did not enjoy the respect of the country. On this account her good qualities were lost to her son, who, at an early age, fell under the control of favourites.

The history of this reign is much mixed with that of England. The house of York had now taken its place on the English throne, in the person of Edward IV. It had constantly regarded the King of Scotland as an enemy; had made leagues with his rebellious nobles against him—especially with Douglas and the Lord of the Isles; and had even entered into an arrangement for conquering the northern kingdom by help of these chiefs, for the purpose of dividing it between them, under a reservation of the English claim of homage. James II., as a matter of course, had befriended the house of Lancaster; and now that that family was ruined and homeless, Scotland received its various members—the imbecile Henry himself, his heroic wife, and his son Edward—into its bosom. They lived for a long time at the town of Kirkcudbright, on the Solway Firth.

It is curious to observe the compact made on this occasion between the Lord of the Isles and the King of England; for it was exactly a miniature parody of the conduct of the Kings of Scotland, when their independence was threatened by England. The Lord of the Isles, it must be observed, was as independent of the King of Scots, as the latter had ever been of the King of England; his sovereignty in that narrow space had been from the earliest times separate from that of Scotland; it was just as distinct and unique as that of Denmark, Norway, or any other neighbouring state. This being understood, it must be clear that when James I. endeavoured to subjugate the Lord of the

Isles, he played the part of an Edward I., that the attempts of James II. were parallel with those of Edward II. and III., and that the Lord of the Isles, in forming leagues with England for the maintenance and extension of his authority, only did what had been done by the Scottish Kings, when they entered into treaties with France against England. The very political reasons were the same. As Edward wished to reduce Scotland for the sake of securing peace in that quarter, at the same time that he enlarged his dominions, so did the Scottish monarchs entertain the hope of extending their rule, and consolidating their realm, by taking in the isles.

The efforts made by the Scottish government in favour of the unfortunate Henry, were too weak to be of any effect against Edward IV. It was therefore found prudent to make a treaty of peace with England in 1463. Next year the Duke of Albany. vounger brother of James III. being sent to complete his education in France, was seized as he passed though England, and, like his ancestor James I., carried prisoner to London. Bishop Kennedy, grand-uncle to the young King, and one of his governors, took on this occasion the bold step of sending a herald to the English court, carrying a request for the deliverance of the Duke in one hand, and a declaration of war in the other; the consequence of which was, that Edward released his prisoner, with an apology. It would appear that the English King at this time meditated an invasion of France, and was anxious, as usual, to secure the good will of Scotland before setting out.

The prelate who has just been named was enabled, during the first few years of this reign, to preserve a shadow of good government in the land. But he died in 1466, and James then fell entirely under the power of the Boyds, an ambitious and grasping family, who sought nothing but their own aggrandizement. Sir Thomas Boyd caused himself to be created Earl of Arran, and procured Mary, the King's eldest sister, in marriage. To increase the regret with which the people beheld these disorders, the young King proved to be of weak character. He manifested a taste for music, architecture, and for meaner arts, such as tailoring and dancing; but showed no inclination to hunting,

hawking, the tournament, or any other of those warlike amusements which the prejudices of his age esteemed alone fit for a man of rank. What was worst of all, he not only gave his attention to studies then considered unworthy of a king, but he adopted as his chief familiars the low-born persons whom he employed for the gratification of his favourite propensities. Thus, after the Boyds had, by the influence of an opposite faction, been deposed and banished, an architect named Cochrane, an English musician of the name of Rogers, and one Hommil a tailor, became his chief intimates. No conduct could have been more apt to alienate the affections of a military and somewhat rade nation from their sovereign.

James III. was fortunate in one transaction of his life. He married Margaret, a daughter of the King of Denmark, thereby adding to his dominions the islands of Orkney and Shetland. which came as her dowry, and at the same time attaching to his counsels an affectionate and prudent wife. He was eminently unfortunate in other relations. He had two brothers. Alexander and John, the former of whom had been created Duke of Albany by his father, and gifted with immense possessions in East Lothian and Berwickshire, while the latter was endowed with the title of Earl of Mar. These young men, without the mild virtues of the King, possessed all the popular qualities in which he was deficient, and enjoying, besides, much real power, soon became exceedingly formidable to their elder brother. One of them was cut off by accidental death, in a career of ambition directed against the King; but the survivor, Alexander, lived to annov him during almost all the rest of his reign.

The situation of Scotland, in regard to England and France, now becomes exceedingly obscure, probably from the intriguing character of at least one of the sovereigns. James at one time enters into a truce for fifty-four years with England, and agrees to marry his son to the daughter of Edward IV. accepting at the same time a pension from that monarch, disguised as an anticipatory payment of the princess's portion. At another time he is found in arms against Edward, and on good terms with France. His conduct seems to have been very much actuated by the intrigues of his brother Alexander. That prince having fled to

France and entered into a compact with Louis XI. for dethroning his brother, James became jealous of France. Afterwards, on the Duke of Albany proffering to make the same bargain with the English King, James is found preparing for war with England.

The Earl of Albany is a great favourite with the old Scottish historians, who, living in a time when military accomplishments were still appreciated above all others, looked only to his superiority over the King in that respect, without perhaps, being fully aware of his base practices. Lindsay of Pitscottie fondly describes him as "hardy, manly, and wise;" adding a portraiture of his person, which was no doubt intended to make the reader fall in love with him, whatever may now be thought of it. "He was of mid stature," says this primitive annalist, "broadshouldered, and well proportioned in all his members, and especially in his face; that is to say, he was broad-faced, rednosed, great-eared, and of very awful countenance, when he pleased to show himself to his unfriends." It is now proved by incontestible state documents, which were not accessible to the old historians. that this prince was in reality a Scottish Duke of Gloucester. disposed to represent his brother as illegitimate, and seeking on that plea to become his substitute on the throne. That he was utterly unprincipled, is proved by his attempting to cast off his wife, in order to form another marriage, which promised to be more advantageous to his fortunes. He is also proved to have made a compact with Edward IV. engaging to accept the sovereignty of Scotland from him, on the terms which Edward I. made with John Baliol; that is, to acknowledge his kingdom a fief held of the Kings of England.

This prince, having been apprehended and imprisoned by King James, escaped in 1479 to France, and afterwards coming to England in 1482, entered into a contract to the above purpose. James was made aware in 1478, by the stoppage of his pension, that Edward disregarded his friendship, and he now, therefore, had the less scruple to break the peace with his southern neighbours. Raising an army of forty thousand men, he advanced to Lauder, intending to invade England. There, however, he was arrested by an insurrection among his nobility, who, seizing his

upstart favourites, hanged them all over a bridge near the camp, and immediately after committed the weak monarch to a sort of honourable confinement in Edinburgh Castle.

At this crisis, Albany entered the country with an English army under the command of Richard of Gloucester, and proceeded to take a leading share in the government, though he still found it inadvisable to usurp the royal dignity. The nobles seem to have permitted him to act for a certain time as regent, his birth giving him a kind of title to the lieutenancy of the kingdom. During this space, probably for the purpose of concealing his designs from the King, he busied himself to procure his liberation. This being effected by the assistance of the citizens of Edinburgh, we are told that the two brothers, in token of reconciliation, rode on one horse from the King's prison to his palace—that is along the principal street of Edinburgh—in the presence of the people. This hypocrisy, however, was soon after seen through: and on perceiving some inclination on the part of the nobles to restore full power to the King, he fled to England, and was forfeited.

Albany made but one other effort to acquire an ascendancy in Scotland. It was in company with the forfeited Earl of Douglas, who had now been exiled for thirty years. They entered the west border with about five hundred horse, were surrounded by a few of the former vassals of the Earl, and discomfited. Albany escaped by means of his good steed; but Douglas was seized and brought before the King. There, either from shame or scorn, the last of the Douglasses turned his back upon the son of James II. -the destroyer of his house, and whose throne he had once seemed on the point of reaching. A ray of pity touched the heart of the King, who had himself known misfortune, and he only sentenced his aged enemy to seclusion in the monastery of Lindores. Douglas bitterly remarked, as he heard his fate pronounced, "He that may no better be, must be a monk;" and he died after four years of retirement. With him perished by far the most powerful house of nobility which ever existed in Scotland. The Duke of Albany afterwards died in France. leaving a son John, who was destined to bear a conspicuous figure in a future age of Scottish history.

James was thus freed from the machinations of his two brothers, who, he had been told by soothsavers, were destined to cause his destruction. Yet neither his government, nor, as it afterwards appeared, his life, were secured. The grand causes of popular discontent still remained in his own character—addiction to mean favourites and unkingly amusements, to avarice and superstition. At this time, a confederacy was formed against the King, including the chief nobility of the southern districts, especially of the powerful families of Hume and Hepburn, who had a personal wrong to avenge, in addition to public injuries; for James, to support a chapel-royal which he erected in his favourite palace of Stirling, had appropriated the revenues attached to the vacant office of prior of Coldingham Abbey, to which it had hitherto been customary to appoint a Hume and a Hepburn' alternately. This association soon became so formidable, that the King found it necessary to retire into the north to seek assistance. But before doing so, he committed the charge of his eldest son James, now a youth of fifteen, to Shaw of Sauchie, the keeper of Stirling Castle.

In his absence, the confederate lords approached Stirling, and prevailed upon Shaw to surrender the Prince to their keeping, thereby supplying themselves with an excellent rallying point for their enterprise. Artfully setting forth that the King, who was suspected of having acted an unnatural part to two brothers, entertained wicked designs regarding his own son, they earnestly besought the people to rise up for the succour of the injured youth. This was a kind of pious fraud; for, to do James justice, it cannot be made to appear that he was a bad father. But men engaged in such causes, have often found it necessary to hold up some broader and grosser object than the real one to the eyes of the populace, for the purpose of producing the desired effect.

James was successful in his recruiting tour to the north. The Highlanders, though recently, and as yet imperfectly reduced to the authority of his family, followed him to the number of at least ten thousand, armed in their rude way with bows and arrows, daggers, and broad-swords. James also secured the aid of various barons of the north-east district of Scotland, so that his army altogether numbered about thirty thousand.

The opposing parties met at Sauchie, a spot situated about a mile south from the field of Bannockburn. The royal host was somewhat out-numbered by the insurgents; on whose side also was the best discipline, and the most animating cause. They carried with them the King's eldest son, in virtue of whose name they displayed the royal banner. On the 11th of June, 1488, the host met in deadly fight, and were pressing against each other with various effect, when a furious charge made by the borderers against the royal battalions, accompanied by a tremendous vell. alarmed the timid breast of the King, hitherto accustomed only to the sounds of measured music. He turned and fled towards the Forth, where he had some vessels lying at anchor, which he thought might afford him refuge. The Highlanders, beat back by the borderers, gave way at the same time; and the day was lost to the royalist party, though not to the extent of a complete rout.

James fled along the field of Bannockburn at the full speed of his horse, and was approaching a mill near the village of St. Ninians, when a woman happened to come out to draw water at a neighbouring well, and seeing an armed horseman galloping rapidly towards her, threw down her pitcher in great alarm, and retreated with all speed to her house. The King's horse took alarm at the pitcher thus cast away, jumped aslant over the rivulet which ran along the way-side, and threw the unhappy monarch senseless upon the ground before the door of the mill. Being carried into that place by the humble inmates, and gradually recovering his senses, he was asked regarding his name and quality. "Alas!" replied he, mournfully, "I was your King this morning;" and he expressed a desire of having a priest brought to him. The miller's wife now ran out to the road, wringing her hands, and calling for a priest to the King. A party of the insurgents came up at that moment. One stepped forward and said, "I am a priest—where is the King?" Being conducted to the place where James was lying, he knelt down by his side, and inquired, with apparent kindness, if he thought he might survive with good leech-craft. James answered that he believed he might, but wished, in the first place, for a physician for the soul, who might take his confession and give him the sacrament. "That I shall do immediately," said the base wretch, and, pulling out his dagger, stabbed the unfortunate King to the heart. Then taking the body on his back, he went away: nor was there ever any further trace of either James or his murderer. It was supposed, however, to have been a follower of Lord Gray, who performed this wicked action.

Such was the cruel fate of James III. a misgovernor of his country rather from foibles than from vices. From the obscurity of the records of this reign, it is difficult to arrive at a proper understanding of the bearings of his policy, or the exact object of those who opposed his government. There is every reason, however, as already stated, to suppose this insurrection as having been, in the main, an effort of the people against an unworthy sovereign.

CHAPTER VI.

JAMES IV.

A FOURTH James now succeeded to the Scottish throne, and one destined to play a more manly and vigorous part than the preceding. This personage, at the time of his father's death, was upwards of fifteen years of age; a youth of excellent dispositions and great promise. Having supplied a name and cause to the insurgents who triumphed over his father, it was natural that they should immediately adopt him as their King, and become his principal advisers. But though thus admitted to the crown by the consent and endeavour of a party which had rebelled against his father's misgovernment, it does not appear that any terms were exacted from him as to his own course of policy. The insurgent chiefs seem to have contented themselves with a few parliamentary statutes favourable to their own personal dignity, and with the satisfaction of forming his court and cabinet. Their triumph was used with moderation in regard to the party which had espoused the cause of the late King.

The young monarch was himself bitterly grieved for the incident which had placed a crown upon his head. Having been all along carried with the rebels only as a pageant, and not from any wish on his own part, it was with serious grief that, after some little time, he ascertained the death of his father. The insurgent nobles are said to have found it a difficult task to induce him to look upon them with any complacency after this event had become known to him, or to enter into their views as to the future management of the country. He blamed himself as being guilty of the crime of parricide; and no efforts, even on the part of the church dignitaries, could convince him of the contrary. By way of penance, he ever after carried an iron girdle round his middle, to the weight of which he made an addition every year; and he spent a great part of his time in pilgrimages and fasts; he even contemplated an expedition to Jerusalem, as an atonement for this involuntary crime.

The character of the new King was in other respects gay and generous. He was much addicted to shows of arms and chivalrous games, indulged greatly in licentious amours, was a musician; a patron, if not a composer of poetry; and had an eccentric habit of travelling in disguise among his people, to acquaint himself with their manners, and see that the inferior officers of the state did their duty. The treasures amassed by his father he spent in courtly amusements for the entertainment of his nobles, being convinced that the affection of those personages was indipensible to his welfare.

In the beginning of this reign we hear for the first time of a naval force in Scotland. One Andrew Wood, possessed two armed vessels which now began to be famous for their exploits. Two English vessels having entered the Firth of Forth, and committed some depredations upon the Scottish merchantmen, Wood was commissioned by the King to go out and fight them. With his two little vessels he overtook the flotilla of the enemy opposite Dunbar, engaged it, and, after a sanguinary battle, brought the vessels into Leith. James rewarded him suitably for this gallant action.

. When Henry VII. heard of what had taken place, he was so much chagrined as to offer a handsome yearly income to any one who should revenge him suitably upon the Scottish admiral. One Stephen Bull adventured to do so; and being provided with three

stout ships, set sail, and lay in wait for Wood at the mouth of the Firth of Forth. Wood soon after coming up, an engagement took place, which was continued with equal fury on both sides for a whole day, till the wind and tide had carried them to the mouth of the Firth of Tay, where, at length, the action was terminated in favour of the Scots. Wood carried his prizes into Dundee, and hastened to bring the English commander to the feet of his sovereign. James sent this person back to Henry, with presents, and a message, stating, that Scotland having men who could fight by sea as well as by land, it was necessary that the English King should not provoke them again on that element, as the fate of the next individuals so taken might not be so gentle. Yet there is great reason for supposing that Wood was only an adventurer upon his own risk, though perhaps occasionally honoured with commissions by his sovereign.

Henry VII., a monarch whose cautious politic character contrasted in the strongest manner with the chivalrous impetuosity of the Scottish King, was in reality by no means anxious to provoke a quarrel with him. It seems to have been rather the wish of this wily sovereign to make James an ally and a friend. The antipathy of James to England has already been mentioned; probably it had no other foundation than mere jealousy of a kingdom superior to his own. It was the task of Henry, and one more truly worthy he could scarcely have engaged in, to conciliate this irritable and wayward spirit to views useful for both countries. Thinking that no means could be so effectual as a matrimonial alliance, he early conceived the design of wedding the Scottish King to a Princess of the blood royal of England. Negociations to this effect were entered into in 1493, but were unfortunately broken off by the caprice of the Scottish monarch, whose prejudices led him to prefer a French match. Nevertheless, when James afterwards set a negociation on foot with that court. Henry found means to get it broken off, and for some years he at least contrived to keep his Scottish neighbour unmarried.

The policy of Henry, whether designed for a selfish purpose or otherwise, was long in winning upon the untractable spirit of King James. In the summer of 1496, we find the Scottish King receiving and acknowledging the pretender Perkin Warbeck, and

even projecting a war against England for the assertion of his supposed rights. It is scarcely necessary to trace the history of this impostor. He was a puppet set up by Elizabeth Duchess of Burgundy, sister of the late princes of the house of York, to represent the younger son of Edward IV., who, in reality, had been some years before murdered in the Tower, at the command of Richard III. It was perhaps the quarter from which he came that chiefly recommended him to James's faith and attention. plete was this faith at first, that he bestowed upon him, in marriage, a young lady of his own blood, daughter to the Earl of Huntly. He afterwards led an expedition into England in favour of the impostor: but finding no encouragement among the people, was speedily induced to retire. Henry, with surprising moderation, took scarcely any notice of this aggression, though it is said that Northumberland suffered very much from the Scottish soldiery. He soon after negotiated a seven years' truce with Scotland.

In the meantime, from the comparative absence of war during the preceding reigns, Scotland was beginning to display symptoms of wealth and importance, such as were not visible either a century before or a century later. The external commerce with France and Flanders was now considerable. The internal manufactures, as is apparent from the numerous incorporations of artizans in every burgh, were also far from trifling. A rude taste for luxuries prevailed to a great extent, as is evident from the writings of the poets; and learning was making considerable advances. In addition to the university established at St. Andrews in 1410, a similar institution had been opened at Glasgow in 1453, and another was now founded at Aberdeen. The consequence attached to learning by the legislature is evidenced by a statute in 1494. ordaining that all gentlemen shall put their sons to school, so that they may have sufficient learning to act the part of country magistrates. The progress which the belles lettres had now made is also surprising. Gavin Douglas, of the Angus family, William Dunbar, and a host of other persons, chiefly of rank or of literary professions, wrote poetry, which, if it could be rendered readily intelligible to the present generation, might be still admired and popular.

The splendour of the court was, in itself, not the least striking

symptom of the prosperity of the country. James, it has been already remarked, spent much of his time in pious offices for the expiation of his father's death; yet it never appears, in the midst of his penances and pilgrimages, some of which last he would perform on foot, and to great distances, that he in the least intermitted his propensity to courtly sports and courtly vices. His book of current expenses contains a strange jumble of offerings at the shrines of saints, alms to palmers, and so forth, mingled with sums for the hiring of "dauncing maydens," and "menstrallis," for the purchase of fine clothes and weapons, and the furnishing of voluptuous banquets. There can be no doubt that his court was by many degrees the gayest known in Scotland before the union of its crown to that of England.

Lindsay, a historian who lived not long after this time, informs us that James "loved nothing so well as able men and good horse." The reason was, that he took more delight in the tournament than in any other amusement. He held frequent justings, as they were called, sitting on the lofty walls of Edinburgh Castle. while the knights contended in the deep valley below. It was his custom on such occasions to give prizes in the shape of weapons; the weapon, in each case corresponding with that used by the successful champion. And so famous at last did the court of Scotland become on this account, that knights used to come from distant countries to compete for the prizes. It must have been a strange sight to see splendid games of this kind at the barras under Edinburgh Castle, while the King, surrounded by his court, sat at least two hundred feet of almost perpendicular height above the spot, occasionally flinging his hat down the face of the rock when he thought the contention was proceeding to too dangerous an extreme-for such, it seems, was his custom.

It has been mentioned that King James, entertaining in early life a strong aversion to England, liked better to hear of a match with some French princess, than with any one belonging to what he was pleased to consider the ancient and natural enemy of his country. It would appear that the advance of years, and the influence of King Henry's gentle policy, at length did away with much of these prejudices, and induced him to listen to a matrimonial proposal from that quarter. In 1503, when he was

about thirty years of age, and when Lady Margaret, eldest daughter of King Henry VII., was approaching fourteen, a negociation for a match with that princess, who had been offered to him in infancy, and rejected, was finally brought to an issue. Henry entertained very just views upon this subject. When his council remonstrated with him about his intentions, and represented that, in the event of his two sons dying without issue, the Scottish posterity of this daughter might succeed to the English crown, and render England an appanage of their own poor state, he answered that, in such an event, England would in reality make an acquisition of Scotland, as it was the more important country, and must become the seat of government for both. The justice of his argument was proved a century after; when, as predicted, his daughter's great grandson, James VI., did actually succeed to the English crown, on the failure of posterity from his two sons.

As James and Margaret were related to each other through Edward III., it was necessary to procure a dispensation from the Pope for their nuptials. Not only was this at once granted, but Julius II., who then enjoyed the pontificate, marked his respect for the Scottish monarch, by presenting him with a consecrated hat and sword; the latter of which yet forms part of the Scottish regalia. The preliminaries were then settled, that Margaret was to have a dowry of thirty-thousand angel-nobles (10,000l.), that she was to have the usual dotarial lands in Scotland for her jointure, and a thousand pounds Scottish money annually for her private purse, and that the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed was to be finally rendered up as a part of the English dominions. At the same time a perpetual peace was concluded between the two countries, being the first since the year 1332; all other intervals of war since that period having been merely truces.

After all proper formalities had been gone through, the princess was conveyed into Scotland by a grand cavalcade of English courtiers, under the conduct of the Earl of Surrey. She was married to James's proxy at Lamerton Kirk, the first holy place which she came to upon Scottish ground; and there she was also taken under charge by a deputation of Scottish courtiers, to the amount of about five hundred. It is acknowledged by the English historians, that, at this meeting of Scottish and English chivalry,

the former fairly outdid the latter in the splendour of their appointments, although among the English were four hundred gentlemen attending on the Earl of Northumberland, each of whom was more like a nobleman than anything else. It is stated, however, at another place, as a set-off against this acknowledgment, that, though the English admired the Scots for their manhood and splendid exterior, they thought them greatly deficient in surture or breeding. Margaret being brought by easy stages to Dalkeith, then a strong castle belonging to the Earl of Morton, James left Edinburgh on a swift horse, and, like a hawk darting on his prev. as one of the princess's attendants* has described him, went out to give her welcome. Their first meeting was of a formal nature. each making profound obeisance before the other, James with his hat in his hand; but conversation soon banished timidity on both sides, and at parting James not only kissed his future Queen, but also some score of maids of honour whom she had brought with her from England. It is also stated that he entertained her at supper by playing on the lute; for such was one of the many accomplishments of this prince.

When the nuptial day arrived, James conducted his bride from Dalkeith to Edinburgh, in the midst of a splendid cavalcade, amusing her part of the way by a stag-hunt over the fields. In the neighbourhood of the city her eyes were greeted with a chivalric drama, performed by the wayside, where one knight seized and imprisoned the mistress of another, and a fight ensued for her release: the common incidents of a romantic tale of that day. Before entering the city, James mounted behind on the horse of an attendant, to try if the animal would endure a double load, it being his wish to ride in that primitive fashion into Edinburgh with the princess. But finding this horse a little uneasy and fretful, he procured another, upon which he caused the lady to mount behind him, and it was actually in this homely arrangement, to which the plainest country people in Scotland will now scarcely condescend, that the two royal personages rode into the town. The object was doubtless to show affection, as in the similar case of James III. and the Duke of Albany.

John Young, Somerset herald. A narrative of the whole marriage, written by him, is in Leland's Collections.

Both in the neighbourhood of the town and within its walls, James was met by detachments of friars from the different monastic establishments of the city, who presented relics to be kissed by him, as was no doubt his custom; but on this occasion he put all those things aside without the usual salute. Passing through the city, where a great number of curious devices were put into practice for their amusement, the royal pair reached Holyrood-house, which, in these later periods of the monarchy, had become the chief royal seat in Scotland. There they were finally united next day, amidst tumultuous scenes of rejoicing; every body being glad to see the King at length married, even to the daughter of an ancient enemy.

For some time after this, James had daily tournaments, to which many foreigners of distinction were attracted, and where he himself sometimes appeared under the guise and title of the Savage Knight, attended by a number of Highlanders. The English and continental visitors were surprised to see the Highlanders, in their conflicts, interchange real wounds, and never appear in the least discomposed; they were also astonished at the sound of the bagpines, with whose notes the mountaineers accompanied their desperate charges against each other. The exhibition of this wild race was certainly a strange eccentricity in the customs of chivalry, and appears the more strange that it took place in the games which celebrated a royal wedding. It seems, however, to have impressed the English with a salutary respect for the courage of the Scots. In the present age, we are more apt to be delighted with the attempts which the Muses made to celebrate James's auspicious marriage. One of these essays was by the ingenious Dunbar, in the shape of a beautiful allegory, called the Thistle and Rose: a title selected in reference to the well-known emblems of the two countries, which, according to the poet, were now joined.

The few years following this event glided away in peace and prosperity; but James, for a considerable time, was not so happy as to have children to survive the perils of infancy. At the birth of the first child in 1507, the Queen was alarmingly ill, and the King, with his usual superstition, thought that nothing could be so effectual in her favour as a pilgrimage performed by him on foot to St. Ninians in Galloway, a shrine much resorted to, not

only by the people of Scotland, but also those of Ireland, on account of the supposed efficacy of prayers delivered before it. When he came back, the Queen was quite recovered; but the child (a son) soon after died. He had another son next year, who did not survive much longer. A third, born in 1512, and christened by the name of James, proved of a stouter frame and survived to succeed himself, under the title of James V.

A marked expansion of views, as to foreign policy, is now observed to take place in the Scottish government. In the times antecedent to Bruce, it cannot be perceived that Scotland entertained relations with any of the neighbouring states besides England and the Netherlands. The poor raw exports of the country did not bring it into connection with any other; and, besides its raw exports, it had no means of making itself important. The alliance with France is not of earlier date than the reign of Baliol, when the ambition of the English sovereigns first rendered it necessary. In the century between Robert Bruce and James I. very little trace of any other foreign relations is discovered. In the last-mentioned reign, owing to the adventurous and ambitious spirit of the King, treaties and commercial contracts were made with a number of the lesser continental states, but evidently without procuring for the country any additional weight or consideration in the scale of nations. During the periodembracing thereigns of the second and third James, little advance, if any, is made. These sovereigns were too anxiously concerned in attending to domestic broils, to pay much regard to foreign relations. Now, a great change is perceptible. In 1503, when James made his treaty of peace with Henry VII. he is found in alliance with France, Germany, Spain. Denmark, Brandenburg, Cleves, and Alsace; all being the result. no doubt, of the increased prosperity of the country, and the vigour of the government. And these alliances were not merely of a commercial character: they seem to have had a regard to Scotland, indeed, might now be said to have political objects. taken a place among the family of European nations, and to have had her word listened to in matters of general concernment as well as the rest. There still survives a collection of the diplomacy of this reign, which so far evidences the fact. It is in the shape of letters by the King to the different potentates in his alliance; and a strain of dignity and consequence, expressed in the most refined Latin, characterises the whole collection.

Among other proofs of the increased wealth and importance of the country, may be reckoned the formation of a national or royal navy, which for the first time took place in the latter part of this reign. James, before he died, possessed sixteen ships of war, one of them two hundred and forty feet long, by fifty-six broad, and carrying thirty-two guns. This must be considered the more remarkable, when it is recollected that 1503 is the era of the English navy; all vessels employed before that year for warlike purposes, being merchantmen hired by the state. James was enthusiastic in his desire of possessing a naval force, being aware, no doubt, that it was the chief means by which he could hope to influence distant nations. Finding the ancient woods in his own country extirpated, he was at great expense to procure timber from France; and he had a ship-building establishment at the village of Newhaven, near Leith, where he is said to have spent the most part of his time, when not engaged in progresses or pilgrimages through the country. The large vessel abovementioned was framed here: it was called the Great Michael. and is said to have cost him thirty thousand pounds. He also paid great attention to the founding of artillery, casting many large pieces at an establishment for that purpose in Edinburgh Castle, where it is recorded that he entertained a very expert artist of the name of Borthwick, who inscribed his productions with the following hexameter line:

" Machina sum Scoto Borthwic fabricata Roberto."

Lyndsay, the gossiping annalist of these times, mentions seven fair pieces which proceeded from the Edinburgh Castle foundry, called "The Seven Sisters." It is also believed, with much probability, that the enormous gun called Mons Meg, which still exists in Edinburgh Castle, was a production of the taste of King James IV., whose personal interest in the proceedings here, as well as at Newhaven, is proved by the circumstance, mentioned in a letter of the period, that he was one day nearly killed, from the bursting of a gun which was in the process of being

tested, after issuing from the foundry.* Upon the whole, it is evident that James had considerable resources, and a disposition to use them for important ends.

Unfortunately, this period of opulence and vigorous government was but of short duration, and darker night was destined soon to settle down upon the affairs of Scotland. Henry VII., James's pacific father-in-law, died in 1509, and was succeeded by his son Henry VIII. It was scarcely possible that two sovereigns, each of so violent a temperamant, could co-exist in the same island without coming into collision, and striking out the fire of war. Accordingly, it is observable that causes of quarrel quickly arose. Some years before, a Portuguese vessel had committed piracy upon one belonging to a Scottish naval adventurer of the name of Barton. James, after repeatedly endeavouring to procure redress by negotiation, gave a letter of marque, or commission of reprisal, to the aggrieved person, who immediately proceeded to commit such havor among the Portuguese traders, as alarmed even that country, then in all the pride of its discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the East Indies, and decidedly the principal naval power in the world. Nor did Barton confine himself to Portuguese vessels, but he also attacked English ones voyaging to and from that country. At this the English monarch conceived high offence, and fitting out an expedition soon overthrew and captured the whole force of the Scottish privateer. James, in his turn, regarded this as an insult to his flag, and demanded reparation. when all the answer he got from King Henry was, that Kings never thought of quarrelling about pirates. Among other causes of offence, were the unredressed murder of one of the Scottish wardens by a set of English moss-troopers, and the unwarrantable detention by King Henry of a legacy left to the Scottish Queen by her father. When James remonstrated on this latter point. Henry was so mean as to offer a compensation in money, under

^{*} The guns of this period were formed of long slips of iron, girded together with close iron rings, after the fashion of a barrel. No iron or lead shot was used—nothing but round stones. The capacity of a certain gun belonging to King James, is described by a contemporary writer in the awkward phrase, "that it shot stones as large as penny loaves."

the condition that King James should not enter into a league with France against him. James answered, with becoming spirit, that if his wife really required to have her father's legacy, or any sum of money instead of it, he could give her that money himself: and he was, of course, just the more disposed to adhere to France, that Henry took such a base expedient to alienate him from it.

France and England were now on the point of falling into one of those absurd and unnecessary wars so common in the early ages of their history. The King of Scots was not at this time bound in such close or recent league to France as to England; and he seems to have desired peace with the latter country, till his spirit could no longer brook the indignities offered to him by King Henry. When at length mutual offence had taken deep root, James received a message from the French Queen, couched in terms that appealed very powerfully to his chivalrous temperament. Assuming the tone of a distressed damsel of romance, this princess—an artful and beautiful one—requested that the Scottish King would march but three steps into England for her sake: and she sent a ring as the pledge of her friendship. The inclination thus raised was confirmed by a present of fourteen thousand crowns from the French court, together with a great supply of what he loved best, arms, artillery, and ammunition, and by seeing several small squadrons of English vessels brought triumphantly into Leith by French men-of-war and his own privateers. Thus influenced, · it was impossible that James could abstain from throwing himself into the war, as an enemy of England.

In the summer of 1513, Henry led a gallant army into France, and laid siege to Terouenne, whither James sent his Lion king-atarms to utter a last and formal remonstrance against his proceedings, and to threaten a descent upon England in the event of his not giving up the war. Henry listened to the threats of his brother of Scotland with contempt, and sent back an answer full of expressions of contumely and defiance. But before this came back, James had fitted out a large naval armament to proceed to France, and had gathered the whole military force of his country at the capital, in order to make that diversion upon the north of England which the French Queen had suggested. This

host was the most numerous and the best appointed that had ever been collected in Scotland; it amounted to one hundred thousand fighting men, and it was accompanied by an excellent train of artillery. Its only weakness lay in the mood of the soldiery, who, being unable to understand the object of the war, or distrusting the King's prudence in entering into it, felt none of that enthusiasm which is so necessary to secure victory to an army composed of national militia.

There were others to feel in this way besides the mere soldiery. James's consort, Margaret, could not behold him breaking the wand of peace with her brother without the most painful feelings. Nor were the nobles less distressed to find themselves dragged into a contest which promised so little advantage to the nation. Various expedients were tried to divert him from his purpose. As he was performing his devotions, one afternoon, in the church of Linlithgow, a tall, old man, in eastern attire, intended to represent the Apostle John, pressed through the crowd of courtiers which filled the church, and addressed him in something like the following words:-" Sir King, my mother hath sent me to you, desiring you not to pass at this time where thou art purposed; for, if thou dost, thou shalt not fare well in thy journey, nor none that passeth with thee;" after which, the strange intruder vanished amidst the crowd, and could no more be seen. About the same time, a visionary troop of heralds appeared at midnight upon the market cross of Edinburgh, where proclamations usually took place, and summoned a long list of persons holding command in the army, to appear in the court of Pluto within forty days. But in spite of all warnings and all intreaties, in spite of wisdom itself, James persisted in carrying his purpose into effect.

Towards the end of August he led his enormous army to the Border, and, entering England at Twizel, successively took the castles of Norham, Etal, and Ford. The state of England at this time was such, that, if he had chosen, he might have easily overrun the greater part of it, and committed the most dreadful devastations. His whole object, however, being to produce a diversion in favour of France, he contented himself with doing little more than what was necessary to fulfil the behest of that

Queen of that country; not penetrating above six miles beyond. the frontier. The old historians assign, as a cause for this, that he fell into the toils of an intriguing woman, the lady of Ford. who undertook to detain him where he was, till an English army should be mustered against him. But, though James might perhaps be imprudent enough to dally a little with some such lady, it does not seem probable that the pause he made upon the border was anything else than what he proposed to himself in entering upon the expedition. Perhaps he waited for the answer which the Lord Lion was to bring back to him from Henry, before proceeding to ravage the country. Settling down in the early days of September, upon a swelling upland or hill called Flodden, which overlooks the course of the river Till, and commands a prospect of the whole of the south of Scotland on that side of Lammermuir. James waited patiently till the 9th, when it was at length announced to him that the Earl of Surrey was within a few miles of his camp, leading a considerable army, which he had hastily gathered in the northern counties. Before this period, by far the greater part of the common soldiery of the Scottish army had gone home to attend to their harvest, and there now only remained with King James about thirty thousand, consisting chiefly of borderers, and comprising almost all the persons of good birth who had originally joined his standard. With those remaining adherents, who were all counsellors, he had had many disputes regarding the propriety of his conduct: but, nevertheless, from a sentiment of honour, all except one or two, whom the King had insulted with bitter language, continued faithfully attached to him. It was upon this diminished army that the Earl of Surrey, who had been appointed to defend England in the absence of the King in France, marched with one nearly equal in numbers, but by no means composed of such a select body of men.

When the Scottish lords were informed of the approach of Surrey, they held a council, at which Patrick Lord Lindsay, an ancient and sagacious peer, acted as president. Into this assembly James is said to have intruded himself in disguise. Lord Lindsay addressed the Lords in a long speech, in which he likened their present circumstances to a game. "You are like a silly mer-

chant," said he, "who has but one gold rose noble, and vet stakes it against a crooked halfpenny. The King is that rose noble, and him you would risk in opposition to an old man in a chariot,* and an army of peasants and artizans." From the eloquence of this allegorist, the Lords resolved that the King should be kept aside in safety, while they did what was in their power against the enemy. At this the King abruptly disclosed himself, and, starting up in a passion, swore that he would that day fight against England, though all of them had sworn the contrary. "I see how it is," said he, "you would all fly from me and shame yourselves; but, shame whom you like, you shall not shame me. As for Lindsay," he continued, "I vow to God I shall not see Scotland sooner than I shall cause him to hang on his own gate" And such was the fear inspired by this appearance of offended majesty, that the nobles gave up their resolution, and consented to act as the King should dictate.

James's conduct after this was of the same unreasonable description. He resolved to avail himself of no advantages over the enemy which fortune might put into his power. Hence, when Surrey wheeled along the opposite bank of the Till, exposed in flank to the Scottish army, James would not permit an attack to be made upon him in that defenceless quarter, though it promised to decide the day in his favour. Hence, also, when the English army reached the bridge over the Till and began to cross, James scornfully rejected the proposal of his chief gunner to have a few pieces directed to it, though it might have been easy, by that means, to break up the host of the enemy. A fair field was the object of the Scottish King, and to take any expedient for preventing a regular stricken battle would have appeared to him as cowardice. It did not occur to his headstrong mind, that there were other interests to be consulted besides his own; and that he had no right, for the gratification of his own extravagant sentiments, to risk the lives of so many of his people, and the good of his country.

The battle which ensued may be best described in the words of the old Scottish historian, Lindsay of Pitscottie. "By this the

^{*} The Earl of Surrey.

watches came, and shewed the King the English army was at hand, marching fast forward, within the space of a Scottish mile. Then the King caused blow the trumpets, and set his men in order of battle; to wit, he gave the rear-guard to the Earl of Huntly and to the Lord Hume, who were in number ten thousand men; and took the great battle* unto himself, with all the nobility of Scotland, which passed not above twenty thousand men, and marched forward a little in sight of the Englishmen, which were passing over the bridge to them.

"The Englishmen were come all over the bridge, and the vanguards were marching near together, to wit, the Scottish vanguard, the Earl of Huntly, the Lord Hume with the borderers, who joined cruelly on every side, and fought cruelly, with uncertain victory. But at last the Earl of Huntly's Highlandmen, with their bows and two-handed swords, wrought so manfully, that they defeat the Englishmen, without any slaughter on their side. Then the Earl of Huntly and Lord Hume blew their trumpets, and convened their men again into their standards.

"By this the two great battles of England came forward upon the King's battle, and joined awfully at the sound of the trumpet, and fought furiously a long time; but, at last, the King of Scotland defeated them both. Then the great battle of England, led by the Lord Howard, who was under his father, the Earl of Surrey, governor of that battle, came furiously upon the King, to the number of twenty thousand fresh men. But the King's battle encountered them hardily, and fought manfully on both the sides. with uncertain victory, till that the streams of blood ran on either aide so abundantly, that all the fields and waters were made red with the confluence thereof. The Earl of Huntly and Lord Hume then standing in arrayed battle, who had won the van-guard before, and few of their men either hurt or slain; the Earl of Huntly desired at the Lord Hume that he would help the King. and rescue him in his extremity; for he said, that he was overset with the multitude of men. Notwithstanding, the Lord Hume answered the Earl of Huntly in this manner, saying, 'He does

^{*} Battalion.

well that does for himself; we have fought and won our part of the battle, let the rest fight what remains as well.' The Earl of Huntly answered, 'He could not suffer his native Prince to be overcome with his enemies before his eyes;' and, raising his slogan (war-cry), rushed with his men towards the King. But, ere he came, all was defeat on either side, that few or none were living, either on the King's side or on the other."

The battle described in these picturesque terms, took place on the gentle descent of the Flodden Hill; for, as soon as the English army appeared ascending the heights, the Scottish soldiers were commanded by their King to set fire to their shingle camp, and, under cover of the smoke, descend to meet the enemy. The fight began at four o'clock in the afternoon, and was only terminated by night. During the three or four hours it lasted, the two armies shifted ground a good deal to the westward, not by the retreat of either party, but merely from the intensity of the struggle. James fought the whole time in the midst of a generous and devoted nobility, till he fell by the wound of an arrow, which pierced his brain. His death was not known till next morning; nor was the fate of the day ascertained any sooner. The remains of both armies continued on the field all night, and it was only on finding their King to be slain, that the Scots perceived themselves to be the losers. They immediately drew off, leaving their splendid train of artillery to the English, though a small party might have easily secured it. They also left upon this fatal field, in addition to their sovereign, twelve earls, thirteen lords, upwards of fifty chiefs and men of note, and about ten thousand common men. The army of Surrey had also suffered considerably; but there was a mighty difference in the general rank of the slain.

CHAPTER VII.

MINORITY OF JAMES V.

THE disaster of Flodden produced extreme alarm and grief as soon as it was known in Scotland. Scarcely a noble family in the country, or a municipal community, but had lost either its valued head, or some important member; not a hamlet but had to cry the coronach for some humble inhabitant.

The first policy of England, after its victory, seems to have been inspired by a feeling of pity for the vanquished. The Earl of Surrey, certain that he had fairly checked the spirit of aggression in Scotland, and judging, perhaps, that his sovereign would not wish to annoy a country which now fell under the government of his sister, disbanded the army. A different policy, however, was soon to be substituted for this; and, amidst the cloud of grief which overspread the country, Lord Dacre burst in upon it with an army of borderers, who swept the southern counties, burnt many houses and towns, and carried off immense spoil.

The government of Scotland had fallen, by the death of James IV. under the name of his infant child, who now became King by the title of James V. The late sovereign, before marching upon his unfortunate expedition, had had the prudence to place eighteen thousand crowns of spare treasure secretly in the hands of his consort, whom by his will he had appointed to be tutrix of his child and regent of the kingdom. Margaret was therefore able, even amidst the tears and groans of her afflicted subjects, and with a frontier harassed by the enemy, to assume the government with a firm hand. Nor did the mild and rather elevated character of this princess at first promise an unhappy government.

Unfortunately, there was one fatal weakness in the Queen, which, as in the previous case of Mary of Guelderland, was destined to blight this promise to her son and her country. She had scarcely recovered from the delivery of a child, born six months after her husband's death, ere she was prevailed upon, by

French servants. It was soon seen, that, in choosing Albany from his being the nearest adult kinsman to the King,* and without inquiring into his character, a grievous error had been committed; and, while the Scots were repenting and mourning over their unfortunate choice, it gave, of course, unalloyed pleasure to England. "If Albany be such a man," says the Earl of Surrey in a letter to Wolsey, "by the grace of God, we shall speed the better." The grand object of England at this time was to make Scotland disgusted with a separate government, and induce it to become an English province. For this purpose, Surrey and Dacre were constantly residing on the borders, in communication with a party they maintained in the Scottish court.

A state of things like this could not continue long. Before Albany had been a year in Scotland, he felt his situation so disagreeable as to express a wish that he had broken his legs and arms that day he first set sail for this wretched country. Then, requesting permission from the estates to pay a short visit to France, and making a paction with the banished Queen Margaret to govern in his absence, he set sail for that country, which was in every respect so much better suited to his faculties, and which he was not again to quit for five years. Margaret, who, during her absence in England, had given birth to a child, styled Lady Margaret Douglas, then resumed the management of affairs, with a council of nobles to direct her proceedings.

In thus abandoning Scotland, it does not appear that Albany resigned all claim over the direction of its affairs. He left a kind of deputy, or pro-regent, to take charge of his interests, and maintain a party in his favour. This was the Sieur Anthony de

^{*} It may be worth while to remark, as an illustration of the celebrated Regency question of 1789, that the Scots at least seem to have always had the idea advocated on that occasion for party reasons by Fox, that the nearest adult relative was entitled to assume the Regency. Perhaps the custom which formerly obtained among them, of placing that individual on the throne, to the exclusion of an infant heir, became modified into this notion. But, whatever force they might give to such a principle in theory, it is evident that it was often broken through in practice. There is a want of certainty on this subject in the British constitution, which ought to be corrected.

la Bastie, a French knight, who had figured in the chivalrous spectacles of James IV., and enjoyed the fame of being an excellent soldier. That he was also attentive to the interests of the country in his present situation, is proved by the pains he took on all occasions to preserve peace, and facilitate the execution of justice. Unfortunately these were dispositions that could scarcely be exercised in Scotland without considerable risk.

In his capacity of Warden of the East Marches. De la Bastie found it necessary, in September 1517, to march to Langton, near Dunse, in order to break up a siege which David Hume, of Wedderburn, was carrying on against that castle, in prosecution of a feud with the proprietor. Accompanied by a guard of three hundred men, the gallant Frenchman approached Langton Castle, and boldly called upon the besiegers to desist. He was only answered by an insolent allusion to his country, which the force of the border chief enabled him to make with perfect security: when De la Bastie thought proper to retire, though not without telling Hume that he should be made to answer for this insult in another place. Hume, then becoming somewhat alarmed, rode after De la Bastie, with the intention of saving something to appease him, or at least of offering an explanation of his conduct wherever a charge might be made. As he proceeded, great numbers of the country people flocked in arms to assist him, conceiving that he designed to slay the fugitive, who, as one of Albany's men, was much hated. As the band of Hume increased, that of De la Bastie, from fear and treachery, melted away; and the laird of Wedderburn then changed his intentions. Remembering the fate of his kinsman Lord Hume, which the feelings of that age made it a duty that he should revenge, conceiving, also, that if De la Bastie got safe to the capital, he might cause the ruin of the house of Wedderburn, he resolved to take advantage of the opportunity, and rid the country of its French ruler. De la Bastie, now seeing himself nearly deserted, made all the haste he could towards the castle of Dunbar, where he knew there was a strong French garrison. He rode through the town of Dunse with the speed of a man who rides through the camp of an enemy. Close behind him came the vengeful Wedderburn, followed by two or three of his nearest kindred, who were equally animated with himself against the fugitive, while a great band of the adherents of the family came up behind. The ill-starred Frenchman reached a spot two miles east of Dunse without being overtaken. Here, unfortunately, his horse stumbled upon a stony part of the road, and precipitated him into an adjacent morass. He rose, heard the cry of the enemy behind him, and, in desperation, endeavoured to make his way across the quagmire on foot, although he must well have known that Dunbar castle was twenty miles away, and that he must be overtaken before he had proceeded as many vards. He had in reality proceeded little more than that short distance, when David Hume came up and slew him; after which, cutting off the head of his victim, the cruel borderer fixed it by its long plaited hair to the pommel of his saddle, and rode triumphantly back to Dunse, where he placed the bloody emblem on the point of a spear. He thence carried it to Hume Castle, the seat of the nobleman beheaded by Albany, and erecting it on the battlements, left it as a sacrifice to the manes of that unfortunate peer, whose head had been placed ignominiously on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. This remarkable anecdote of the times is chiefly taken from a manuscript history of the house of Wedderburn, which was written less than a century after the event, by a cadet of the family, and in which. notwithstanding this horrid transaction. David Hume is described as a man generally worthy, and distinguished by many virtues. As one assassination was in that age sure to lead to others, we find that James Hepburn, of Hailes, some years after, when Albany was again in Scotland, slew David Hume, prior of Coldingham, by way of doing a pleasure to the Regent, whose indignation, it must be remarked, was roused to a high pitch by the murder of his deputy. The murder of Hume was, in its turn, revenged by the laird of Wedderburn slaving Blackater, the succeeding prior of Coldingham, who was an ally of Hepburn. After which the feud seems to have been staunched, that is, accommodated; or else a more vigorous government must have prevented its being carried any further.

For two or three years after the murder of De la Bastie, few incidents of note occur; the country remained under the nominal rule of Queen Margaret, but in reality divided between the two

factions of Angus her husband, and Arran, the representative of the house of Hamilton. Many bickerings took place between these parties, and so completely was the power of the state divided between them, that no man could prosper in any public business, nor even get fair play in a court of law, unless he professed either to be a "Douglas's man," that is, an adherent of the Earl of Angus, or a "Hamilton's man," which meant a vassal of the Earl of Arran. Precisely in proportion to the share of power enjoyed by one or other of these noblemen, did their respective adherents remain free of oppression, or flourish in their worldly affairs. On the other hand, the most violent breaches of the peace might have been committed without question, under the sanction of either of these names, provided only that no offence was committed against the interests of the opposite faction. Arran's power prevailed chiefly in the west of Scotland, where it was much enforced by the influence of James Betoun, Archbishop of Glasgow, his brother-in-law and firm ally. That of Angus was principally dominant in Edinburgh and the southern and eastern provinces.

An attempt was made in May, 1520, to accommodate the differences of these nobles in parliament. Preparatory to the meeting of that solemn council, Angus, to give assurance of his good faith, caused a kinsman of his to be divested of the office of Provost of Edinburgh; and, what was certainly a great stretch of liberality, discharged all his ordinary attendants except about four hundred. As Edinburgh was little better than an enemy's country to Arran, he could not be expected to make such a show of good dispositions: he came attended by a large body of adherents, including the intriguing churchman Betoun, who, for the occasion, had prepared himself with armour and arms, worn beneath his pontifical robes. Perhaps, to make this more intelligible, it may be necessary to inform the reader, that a muster of armed force was a natural accompaniment of all parliaments which took place in Scotland during turbulent times, and even of most of the justiciary At such a time, for instance, as the present, when single noblemen successively usurped the power of the state, it was only by bringing forward an immense force that they could support their respective parties in the national council. Without that, no

attention was to be expected to their respective claims within the House of Assembly; without that, right was disregarded, and justice unheard. But in general there was only one party present in a Scottish parliament—that which had the greatest influence for the time; the minority, in fact, being unable to show face, from the mere dread of being overpowered in battle by the prevailing faction.

The superior force of Arran naturally gave the friends of Angus some alarm; and that nobleman thought it advisable to send his uncle, Bishop Gavin Douglas,* to enter a remonstrance upon the subject with the Archbishop of Glasgow. Douglas found Betoun in the Blackfriars' Monastery, and made no scruple, in the course of conversation, to mention the popular report that he was at the bottom of all these hostile manifestations on the part of the Hamil-"Indeed," cried Betoun; "upon my conscience, my Lord, I knew nothing of the matter." As he spoke he struck his hand emphatically upon his breast, and caused the armour under his gown to utter a sound at issue with his words. "My Lord," answered Douglas, with pointed sarcasm, "methinks your conscience is none of the soundest; if I am not, mistaken much I heard it clattering." To this Betoun could only make a confused reply; and Douglas then seeing it to be vain to seek peace in this quarter, left the monastery.

The amiable Bishop now applied, on the same account, to Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother to the Earl of Arran, a knight no less famed in Scottish history for chivalrous behaviour in the spectacles of King James IV. than he was universally respected by his contemporaries for his prudent and moderate character. Immediately entering into Douglas's views, Sir Patrick proceeded to argue with his noble brother regarding the propriety of assuming a peaceable demeanour. But all was spoilt by the interference of Sir James Hamilton, an illegitimate son of Arran, who, hearing Sir Patrick speak in favour of peace, and being himself bent on war, petulantly accused the good knight of being backward in fighting for the interests of the family; which affected Sir

^{*} Bishop of Dunkeld, and distinguished for his poetical talents.

Patrick's temper to such a degree, that he also gave way to the general desire of fighting, and even expressed a more headlong wish than the rest to proceed to battle.

Angus had in the meantime taken the precaution to post his small force upon the principal street of the city, and to barricade all the lanes leading into it, while the citizens, all of whom in that warlike age kept arms in their houses, handed spears to his men from the windows, and thereby armed them in a superior manner to the Hamiltons, who had only their swords. As the latter defiled slowly and in detached parties from the lanes, the Douglasses everywhere met them at an advantage. One considerable party, at the head of which was Sir Patrick Hamilton and the Earl of Arran, came forward to the spot where Angus himself was posted; and there a sharp conflict took place. Sir Patrick, rushing far a-head of his retinue, was the first man to fall. He perished by a bullet, to the great regret of the Earl of Angus, who anxiously wished to save him. Just at that crisis. David Hume. of Wedderburn, arrived with a band of borderers to the assistance of his friend Angus; and the contest immediately became unequal. The Hamiltons were in a few minutes obliged to retire through the lanes opposite to those from which they had just emerged, after having lost seventy men. The Earl of Arran and his son mounted a coal-horse, from which they threw off the load, and with difficulty escaped by fording the lake to the north of the city. Their co-adjutor Betoun took refuge in the Blackfriars' Monastery, from whence he would have been dragged and slain, but for the interference of the Bishop of Dunkeld, who, with the fellow-feeling of a churchman, said it would shame their victory if they were to stain it with the blood of a consecrated prelate. This strange skirmish, which left Angus triumphant in the seat of government, was popularly styled Clean-the-causey, from the Douglasses having, as if by a sudden and magical act of scavengership, swept their enemies off the street; a curious trait, it must be acknowledged, of the humour of the time.

From this period till December 1521, the supreme power may be said to have vested in the hands of Angus, though his wife, from whom he had been long estranged, continued as nominal chief of the council. Henry VIII., being now engaged with Spain.

in an extensive scheme of warfare against France and the Pope. the King of the last-mentioned country thought proper to remand his creature, Albany, into Scotland, with an ample provision of arms and money, to attempt a diversion upon the north of England. For some time success seemed likely to attend this enterprise. Albany, landing in the west of Scotland, where the suppressed party of Hamiltons chiefly resided, immediately found himself surrounded by a considerable force. Advancing with this to Edinburgh, he caused the existing government of the Douglasses at once to give way, and easily succeeded in reinvesting himself with the full authority of Regent. Angus took refuge in England. and Margaret quietly withdrew to one of her private residences. So strong an influence did French gold now exercise in this poor country, that in a very few months the Duke was able to lead an army of eighty thousand men to the border, the best appointed, if not also the most numerous force, ever taken thither by a Scottish prince. There can be no doubt that, if he had entered England in a spirited manner, he might have easily overrun all the northern provinces, and achieved the object of his mission by causing the English army to be withdrawn from France. But Albany was too pusillanimous to venture upon any such decisive measure. Dacre, the English warden, though said to have been utterly destitute of an army, was able, by mere boasting and threatening. and a judicious concealment of his weakness, to draw the silly Regent into an armistice, in the terms of which he agreed to dissolve his magnificent host, and give up the whole enterprise. Never, perhaps, was the power of a large army so completely baulked and neutralised by the mere cowardice of a general. The result was, that he became an object of contempt in the country. and was speedily obliged to take refuge once more in France. In his absence, the Earl of Surrey collected a small army, and ravaged the Scottish frontiers, as a revenge for this abortive attempt upon England. He returned next year, with new supplies of money, and four or five thousand French soldiers, and again gathering a Scotch army, proceeded to besiege the castle of Wark, upon the borders of Northumberland. But this expedition was destined to end as ingloriously as the first. At a very slight and false alarm, the Regent took to flight, with all his men; and

there was but one day between his being at the head of sixtythousand men, and his taking refuge in Edinburgh almost without a guard. French gold could now no longer protect this wretched Prince from the contempt of Scotland; he soon after left the country, never to return.

After this third retirement of Albany, the Queen Regent quietly resumed her authority, and the Earl of Angus returned from England once more, to give her the protection of his numerous vassalage, which might be said to form her standing army. Her son was now a boy of twelve years of age, and already had given token of excellent abilities. He was a good horseman and runner at the glove, a graceful dancer, and a pleasing singer. besides possessing much masculine sense and information, for which he was mainly indebted to his worthy preceptor. Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen. All the habits and tastes of this young Prince were of a manly nature. An English envoy. writing to Cardinal Wolsev at this time, while he mentions that James would like to be presented with an ornamented buckler. similar to that which he understood to be used by his uncle, the King of England, savs, that it must be no toy, but of the full size, as the King was too much of a man to endure anything that seemed calculated for a child. "Already," says this writer, "he wears a sword a yard long in the blade, and yet he can draw it as well as any man." Nor was he deficient in the address and force of character which were required to fit him for his high destiny. Already he could look down and frown, nay, even use hard words, to such of the courtiers as his mother expressed herself displeased with. It is related, as an instance of his quickness of wit, that, being asked what should be done with some of Albany's French guards, who remained in the country, he archly replied, in allusion to the fate of De la Bastie, "Give them to Davie Hume's keeping."

It was now projected at the English court, that an attempt should be made to supplant the French interest in Scotland, by enabling the young King to assume the reins of government into his own hands. For this purpose much chicanery was exerted, and much money spent; even the Scotch King's guards were supported for a time by a certain daily pay from England.

Margaret, whose facility of character no change of government could disturb, readily lent herself to this scheme, and it was soon completed by the return of the Earl of Angus from France, whither he had gone, after being expelled from Scotland by Albany. Perhaps the reader will be surprised at the rapidity with which such changes were made in Scotland; but he must take into account that, just as the parliament was obliged to vote with that peer who had the best means of supporting it, so was the country at large forced by its smallness, as compared with England and France, to attach itself for protection to the skirts of one or other of those powers.

In the meantime, Margaret lost what remained of her respectability and influence, by a marriage which (having previously procured a divorce from Angus), she contracted with Henry Stuart. a second son of Lord Evandale. No obstacle, therefore, remained to prevent the chief of the house of Douglas, whose character was improved by his travels, and who had made a close compact with the English monarch, from assuming the protection of the young King; in other words, the regency of the kingdom. James's manly spirit writhed beneath this domination, which was accompanied by a severe restraint upon his person; but the territorial power of the Earl, enforced by the countenance of England, was too great to admit of dispute. Even Arran, and other former rivals of the name of Douglas, now submitted to its overpowering Only two attempts were made by different great land proprietors to resist it; one by Scott of Buccleuch, and another by the Earl of Lennox; but two successive victories at Melrose and Linlithgow-bridge-in the last of which Lennox was slain by the fierce Sir James Hamilton, after having received quarter—served only to consolidate the power of Douglas. In the country, there was now only one way to prosperity, one means of safety-that of professing to be an adherent of this overgrown noble.

There was, however, a proverbial insecurity in all power exerted in Scotland. The lapse of two or three years was sufficient to reanimate old, and to excite new enmities against the Douglasses. On the King, therefore, contriving to make

his escape from their keeping, and raising his own standard against them—which took place in July 1528—he appears to have found no great difficulty in gathering a band of adherents sufficient to resist their power, and procure their forfeiture in Parliament. One of the traits of James's character was a disposition to cherish deep and lasting resentments. Unable to forgive the Douglasses for the restraint in which they had held him, he was never content till he had expelled them from the kingdom, and procured their utter ruin. Under these circumstances, Angus and the chief of his kindred naturally took refuge at the English Court, with which they had previously been in strict alliance; and James never permitted one of them to return to the country so long as he reigned.

CHAPTER VIII.

JAMES V. CONCLUDED.

ONE of the King's first proceedings, after gaining his independence, was to redress some of the evils which had sprung up in the course of his long minority. Turning his eyes towards the Border, where neither law nor government, and scarcely even country, had been acknowledged for many years, he assembled a light-armed force of about ten thousand men, on the pretence of a grand hunting-match, and, setting out in that direction, came successively upon Cockburn of Henderland, and Scott of Tushilaw, two noted freebooters, who, as they only expected to see him pass to the chase—and here we have a remarkable trait of the age-had taken no precautions for their safety. These two individuals, the latter of whom was so formidable as to have acquired the name of King of the Borders, he hanged without ceremony over their own gates. Then proceeding through the wild passes which lead towards Eskdale, he was met at Carlenrig, ten miles south of Hawick, by the most magnificent of all these banditti-the famed Johnnie Armstrong-who, quite ignorant of the fate of his companions, had come in the most splendid array, with six-and-thirty gallant attendants, to welcome the King to the country, and join in his sport. James received this robber with an ominous frown, and, turning to his courtiers, asked sneeringly what he wanted to make him equal in appearance to a king; after which he condemned the whole band to immediate execution. When Armstrong perceived what was to be his fate, he made every attempt which ingenuity could devise to procure a reversal of his sentence, represented of what effect he might be in protecting the borders for King James's interest, and offered to maintain a large body of men constantly for that purpose. But the young monarch was inexorable. Seeing this at last, the robber drew himself up with pride, and, remarking with bitter sarcasm that it was needless to seek grace of a graceless face, submitted to his fate. The whole of these thirty-seven men were hanged upon trees by the way-side, except one, who, bursting from his guard, ran to Armstrong's tower upon Esk side, and communicated the fatal intelligence to his lady. By such terrible examples, James is said to have accomplished what he stated in the outset to be his wish; he enabled men to keep cattle on the Borders without a guard, the same as in the more civilized parts of Scotland. This was an object worthy of a young King, who attained to power under such circumstances; and it serves to show the strength of his character, that, at the age of eighteen, he should have carried through his purpose with such decision and success.

James's general aspect at the commencement of his actual reign is that of a reformer. Well educated himself, and gifted above the common order of men, he could well perceive both the evils under which his country laboured, and the expedients which were most likely to work their cure. Having taken care in the first place to strengthen his own hands, he proceeded to correct many of the oppressive usages which, during the anarchy of the last age, his nobles had established over the community. One grand effort was to take the administration of justice from a standing committee of parliament, which had previously been the only court of law, and commit it to a regular bench of senators, partly churchmen, partly laymen, who should be inde-

pendent of the aristocracy. This was the origin of the Court of Session, which still forms the supreme law court in Scotland. In his general conduct, he took pains to repress the power and insolence of the nobles. Instead of employing them in his administration, he preferred church-dignitaries, and even lawyers. He also bestowed great encouragement upon the burghs—those bulwarks, in all ages, against the power of the noblesse—and, to make sure that every department of the state was well administered, he followed the example of his father, by going frequently in mean disguises through the country. The result of these popular arrangements was, that he obtained from his people the endearing appellation of the *Poor Man's King*.

Some years of good government, and of consequent peace and prosperity, now ensued; so that Scotland at length began to resume nearly the same aspect which it had exhibited under the reign of James IV. A slight war with England occurred in 1533; but in general James kept on good terms with his uncle, as well as with the Kings of France and other countries. He employed a great deal of his time and revenue in building ships, and in improving his palaces, in the last of which works he engaged the architectural skill of Sir James Hamilton, called the Bastard of Arran, who, strange to say, was equally distinguished for this elegant accomplishment, as for his sanguinary disposition in war. Linlithgow Palace, though now in ruins, is a monument of the taste of the monarch and his architect. James was also a poet. and a patron of poets. His Court boasted of a circle of literary men, who, though unable to make themselves be listened to in other countries, were still very respectable. Under his patronage the art of printing, which had been first introduced by his father in 1508, but had afterwards decayed, was permanently revived. One of the earliest books printed in the country, was a translation of Boece's History of Scotland into the Scottish language, which .was professedly designed for the royal use, as well as for such young courtiers, his companions, as had "missed their Latin." In this reign, moreover, the Acts of Parliament were for the first time subjected to the press—an immense step in the march of civilization.

^{..} Upon the whole, it does not seem improbable that this gallant

young sovereign, whose very person betokened a noble and amiable character, would have been one of the best of all the independent Kings of Scotland, but for one fatal circumstance—the breaking out of the Reformation. The political engagements under which he lay with the dignified ecclesiastics, unfortunately placed him, from the very first, in opposition to the progress of this grand moral revolution. Hence the glory of his reign is grievously darkened; and even his premature death may be traced to this cause.

Before this period, Henry VIII. had repudiated at once his wife Catherine and the Catholic faith, and wedded himself simultaneously to Protestantism and Anne Bullen: thereby rendering himself somewhat wealthier by the acquisition of the church lands, but at the same time more obnoxious to the enmity of neighbouring governments. Finding a necessity for fortifying himself by all means in his new position, it struck the mind of this imperious monarch, that the alliance of Scotland, which he had all along desired, would now be particularly useful to him, if not absolutely indispensable. On this account he busied himself. with the proverbial zeal of a new convert, to bring round his nephew to the same way of thinking with himself; even offering him, it is said, his only child Mary to wife; a species of temptation which his own experience might have already taught him to be very powerful. Here lay one of the chief causes why James had not the good fortune to become a Protestant. The principles of the Reformation, presented to him in association with one of the most infamous tales of lust and cruelty that ever stained a nation's history, were rendered revolting to his mind at the very first. Henry made repeated efforts to bring him to a personal conference, in the hope of converting him: but James, who was much in the hands of the clergy, never found it convenient to afford his uncle that gratification. He was, moreover, tempted, as his father had been, to prefer the alliance of France to that of England.

In 1536, when the King had reached the age of twenty-five, he yielded to the pressing solicitations of his clerical advisers, by forming a matrimonial treaty with Maria de Bourbon, daughter of Charles Duke of Vendome. Having first done his best, accord-

ing to the superstitious practice of the age, to propitiate the wind and weather by a pedestrian pilgrimage from Stirling to the shrine of Loretto, at Musselburgh, he undertook a voyage to France for the purpose of bringing the young lady home. Some circumstance, not explained in history, caused this match to be broken off. Probably he discovered on his arrival that the Princess had been previously engaged by a rival of inferior rank, and had the generosity to resign her hand. It is at least certain that no quarrel took place, as he gave away the Princess in marriage to the Count de Beauvais before he left France. He settled his affections upon Magdalen, eldest daughter to the King (Francis I.), whose hand he received on the 1st of January, 1537, and who, in the ensuing May, returned with him to Scotland.

The national rejoicings, on the arrival of the royal pair at Leith, were beyond all that had ever been known on any similar occasion; and the pageant which graced their entrance into the capital was conducted in a style of costly magnificence calculated to astonish a modern reader. Death, however, had laid a claim to Magdalen before James had seen her. She fell a victim to deeply-seated consumption ere she had spent forty days in the country. The popular rejoicings were then converted into as wide a scene of lamentation. It is said to have been under the excitement of this remarkable calamity that mournings were first worn in Scotland.

Within a year after, James negotiated another match; and, to the lasting misfortune of his country, it was with Mary, daughter of the Duke of Guise, one of the principal branches of the royal family of France. This lady, who was both of hardier frame and more energetic mind than Queen Magdalen, came to Scotland in June, 1538; and the marriage was celebrated soon after at St. Andrews. Within a short period, she bore James two sons, who died, however, within a few hours of each other, in 1541. Mary's last child was a daughter, born on the 7th of December, 1542; a creature rescued from the perils of infancy, so fatal to her brothers, only to be a conspicuous victim of the sterner evils proper to advanced life.

At this latter period of his reign, James experienced consider-

able disturbance from the progress which the reformed doctrines began to make in the country. So far back as 1528, when he was under the power of the Douglasses, the clergy had resorted to the desperate expedient of burning a heretical divine, by way of giving a check to this growing danger. Some one remarked, however, with great truth, that the smoke of this sacrifice seemed to infect every one on whom it blew with the same notions. In spite of all the efforts of the priesthood, books explanatory of the new system of faith, and above all things copies of the Bible in English, were imported from the neighbouring country, and eagerly studied. Many men scrupled not to go about, at the hazard of life, preaching the new doctrines in secret places. To oppose the spreading tide of heresy, the clergy had nothing but their political influence in the state, which, great as it was by reason of their wealth and learning, was just as incompetent to check the growing evil, as is a fortified wall to prevent the birds of heaven from flying over a citadel. The immolation of seven persons in 1539, to which the King consented, rather increased than diminished the mischief they complained of.

Though the King thus appears in the unfavourable light of an opponent of the Reformation, it is not to be supposed that he was inspired by a bigoted veneration for either the clergy or their dogmas. He was sensible of the profligate lives generally led by these men, and would sometimes even drive them out of his presence with expressions of censure and menace. While in secret he relished the satires which Lindsay, Buchanan, and other wits aimed against them, he made repeated efforts, in his legislative capacity, to correct their faults. In all probability his free and open nature would have induced him to permit a thorough reformation in his dominions, if cogent political reasons, and certain ambitious views, had not prompted him to take a contrary course.

Perhaps it was scarcely possible that England and Scotland could exist together under such different systems of religion without coming to blows; in the present case there were more than the ordinary reasons for a contest. In the first place, Henry could not, without great alarm, see James deliberately reject his alliance and cleave to the Catholic Princes of the

continent, of whom, at this very time, the Pope was endeavouring to form a coalition against him. Next, James was encouraged by the Catholics to hope for the means of precipitating Henry from his throne as a heretic, and of succeeding to him as the next in blood. From all the causes combined, but especially the last, a war took place between the two countries in 1542.

The first move was made by Henry in the shape of an incursion into Scotland. Thirty thousand English, led by the Duke of Norfolk, entered the country in October, and were defeated at Haddenrig by about ten thousand Scots under the Earl of Huntly. This victory, which seemed to avenge the disaster of Flodden, and upon its very instrument,* raised the hopes of King James to an extravagant pitch; and he prepared, by further levies, to follow up his advantage. Here, however, his resources failed him. The clergy had supplied the expenses of this war, but they had not furnished the men. These were not now to be procured by mere money. The reformed doctrines had already begun to affect the nobility; the superciliousness with which James had treated them during his whole reign also rose upon their recollections; reason further told them that the war was unnational and unjust. Hence, when James gathered them together at Fala on the road to England, instead of finding himself followed by a band of zealous partizans, ready to cut a way for him towards the English throne, he found a set of moody malcontents prepared to exercise an old privilege of the Scottish nobility, that of taking their sovereign to task about his conduct, with the view of pointing out to him a better course. They declared to him, that, finding the enemy had withdrawn, they saw no reason to invade England; they would only act on the defensive. This disappointment, at such a moment of hope, seems to have chilled the very springs of life within the breast of the young monarch. Overwhelmed with a tumult of painful feelings, he dismissed the army, and returned to Edinburgh.

It might have been happy for him if he had now rested satisfied with the degree of misery allotted to him, and not sought to hazard his peace of mind any further. But an effort of

^{*} The Earl of Surrey had become Duke of Norfolk.

the clergy, by which they raised an army of ten thousand men, induced him again to risk his fate. This force was marched to the western border, and had entered that piece of territory called the Debateable Land, when it was met by a small English party of observation, which had been gathered by two gentlemen of the district. At the moment when this party appeared, an odious favourite of the King, named Oliver Sinclair, was raised aloft upon a buckler, to read the royal commission appointing the Earl of Huntly commander; and the Scots, under the mistaken notion that this minion was himself appointed to the command. instantly fell into a mutiny, and became so confused as to lose the appearance of an army. The English party, which scarcely numbered four hundred men, took advantage of the accident, fell upon the Scots, and without the least effort produced a complete rout. A thousand men, including many nobles, were taken prisoners by an enemy not numbering upwards of five hundred.

James, in his anxiety for the fate of his little army, had advanced to Caerlaverock Castle, where he soon learned what had taken place. The effect of such a blow upon such a mind may be easily conceived. He retired to Falkland Palace, to mourn over the disaster in solitude, and was there almost immediately taken dangerously ill. While stretched on what he knew and felt to be his last bed, he received intelligence of the birth of his daughter at Linlithgow Palace. At such a moment, when just awaked from the hope of securing the crown of England to himself and a hopeful posterity, to learn that he was leaving his own to a girl. who, even if she survived, would transfer it to another family. seemed to the gloomy mind of the monarch an overpowering stroke of Providence. He murmured forth that the crown had come into his family by a female, and that it would now go out of it with one; and, turning his face to the wall, as if the world were no longer a scene worth looking on, scarcely uttered another word. He died in the thirty-first year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign.*

^{*} The view here taken of James's motives for his last fatal war with England is original, but unquestionably correct. James had a party in England favourable to his views on the crown, being probably altogether formed of Catholics. It is also evident that his two matrimonial alliances

CHAPTER IX.

MINORITY OF QUEEN MARY.

By the death of James V. Scotland was once more overtaken by the evils of a minority. The benefit of enjoying an adult sovereign, with power sufficient to keep the materials of the state in proper order, had been restored to the country only fourteen years before, after it had remained for a longer period in a state of anarchy. The same dark cheque-spot in its fate was now to recur, and under circumstances even more ominous than formerly. The heir, still younger than before, was now a female; while the country stood in a more delicate situation, in so far as the Reformation had given additional perplexity to its relations with France and England.

Two powers now existed in the country, being in some measure the germs of those parties which, under the titles of Tory and Whig, or conservative and liberal, yet divide the British commonwealth. First, there was the party, as yet chiefly consisting of noblemen, which desired to break up the grand system of the Church of Rome. Next, there was the party which espoused the cause of that Church. Cardinal David Betoun, who

were at the dictation of the Clergy—Betoun having been the ambassador who formed them. That the King of France was anxious for James's alliance, is proved by the pains he took to inveigle him into it, by the presents he gave him, and the appointment to a French bishopric with which he rewarded Betoun. When James was returning from France with Queen Magdalen, some malcontent English came on board from Flamborough Head, and intreated him to invade England and make himself their king. He said he hoped within a twelvemonth to break a lance on an Englishman's breast. At that time, moreover, we are told that the English populace had numerous rhymes and ballads, in which the accession of the King of Scots to the throne of England was spoken of as very near. Henry, in a letter to James, accused him of circulating these pasquinades. The grounds of the presumed claim of the King of Scots must have been, that Henry had forfeited his right in consequence of his heresy, thereby annulling even the succession of his children.

had been a chief agent of the late King in managing his connections with France, stood at the head of the latter faction, and presented a formidable front to the Reformers. He made an attempt at the very first to obtain the situation of Regent, from which he was only excluded by a simultaneous impulse of indignation on the part of the nobles, which caused them to revolt against one that had been instrumental in misleading their deceased sovereign, and in alienating him from their own counsels. They elected the Earl of Arran, who, failing the infant Mary, was heir to the crown; and for some time they were even able to place the Cardinal under arrest. Those times, however, changed.

When Henry VIII. heard that the Scottish crown was left to a female infant, he formed the wish of accomplishing a matrimonial alliance between her and his son Edward, by which the two kingdoms might be at length united under one sovereign. Not dreaming that the Scots could have any serious objections to such a proposal, he discharged the Lords taken at Solway, who were in general inclined to Protestantism, with a commission to conciliate the Scottish parliament to his object, and to propose that the young bride should be instantly handed over to his keeping, together with as many of the principal fortresses of the kingdom, as might ensure him against a breach of treaty on the part of the Scots during the space which must elapse before she became marriageable. His precipitation ruined the scheme. Such a proposal to a nation which had battled with his predecessors and himself for three hundred years, and yet continued independentwhich was even now at war with him-roused all the antipathies of the nation into action. The Regent, and in general all the party which anxiously wished for a reformation, heard it with some degree of patience, and at length gratified him so far as to agree to its being hung up for ten years, pledges being given for its eventual fulfilment. But, by doing so, they only lost their own power, and once more caused the ascendancy of the church party. Betoun, escaping from confinement, gained over the Regent to his side by acting upon some fears he entertained regarding his legitimacy, and soon mustered a party which, by taking advantage of the popular prejudices against England, was able at once to break off the treaty, and to supplant the reforment

in the supreme power. The natural effect of this was, that the progress of the reformation was for the time suppressed. Arran had previously passed an act of parliament, permitting the Scriptures to be read in English; but he now became an apostate himself, and sanctioned the suppression of the new doctrines by every possible means, fire not excepted. Another consequence was, that Henry conceived the most violent antipathy against the Scots, and resolved to revenge what he esteemed their breach of faith by fire and sword.

A government was now erected in Scotland, at the head of which the Earl of Arran nominally stood, but which was, in reality, composed of Cardinal Betoun in chief, and of the Queenmother, Mary of Guise, as second. An assistant had been called in by Betoun, in the person of Matthew Earl of Lennox, son to that Earl who was killed in 1525, at the battle of Linlithgow-bridge. But, as soon as his territorial influence was no longer required, he was shaken off by the unscrupulous churchman, and obliged to retire for his safety into England. There Lennox soon after married the daughter of the late Queen Margaret, by her second husband, the Earl of Angus, through whom he became the father of Henry Lord Darnley, the future husband of Queen Mary.

Being fully aware of Henry's hostile intentions, this government applied to Rome and France for some auxiliaries to assist it in defending the country. But the vengeance of the English King came too speedily to allow of any such succour being received. In the spring of 1544, an army crossed the borders to ravage the frontier of the kingdom, at the same time that another, under the Earl of Hertford, sailed into the Firth of Forth, and landed at Leith. The Governor, as Arran was styled, being unprepared for resistance, sent the Provost of Edinburgh to inquire the cause of this hostile movement. Hertford replied, that the Scots had but two alternatives—to deliver up their Queen, that she might be united to Prince Edward; or to submit to the spoliation which he was prepared to execute upon them. An answer being returned, that the people of Scotland could not assent to so unjust a demand, the English Commander advanced towards Edinburgh, set it on fire in several places, and proceeded to ravage the country to the distance of ten or twelve miles in every direction. An attempt was made upon the Castle of Edinburgh, but without effect. When the Earl had so far executed his commission, he retired on ship-board, and set sail for England, having previously burnt the sea-port where his navy had cast anchor. Perhaps he might have prosecuted his vengeance further; but some political intrigues at the court of England required his instant presence. It is curious on this occasion to find the English congratulating themselves on the extent of damage which they committed upon Scotland; while the Scots, from their comparative indifference to the comforts of a state of peace, made but light of the disaster.

There is, nevertheless, something surprising in the apathy displayed by the Scots throughout this war. Twice did the border army overrun the counties of Berwick and Roxburgh, and twice did they retire unannoyed. It was not till February. 1545, on a third invasion being made under Sir Ralph Ewers and Sir Brian Latoun, that the Earl of Angus was so much incensed at their desecration of the tombs of his ancestors in Melrose Abbey, as to forget that he belonged to what was called the English party, and to determine on resistance. For this purpose, he was released from prison by the governor and Betoun. who, though regarding him as an enemy to their party, and even as a partizan of King Henry, were still willing to employ the passion which had been accidentally kindled within him, since it tended to their advantage. Gathering about eight hundred men. Angus advanced towards Jedburgh, where the English were lying, to the amount of five thousand; and, being reinforced by the Laird of Buccleuch, with a party of borderers, he did not hesitate to give battle to the enemy at Ancrum Moor. fight took place in a marshy piece of ground, from which a heron arose, at the moment when the contending parties were about to close. Douglas exclaimed, with the true spirit of one who loves fighting for its own sake, "Would that I had here my grey goshawk, so that we might all yoke at once." Owing to a ruse on the part of the Scots, the English advanced in disorder, and in the full confidence of victory. Hence, on the Scots making a firm and vehement charge, they were unable to resist it, but fled

with the utmost precipitation. In the rout which followed, an immense number of the fugitives were slain, falling a sacrifice to the cruel spirit of the Scots, which was exasperated by the long-continued aggressions experienced by their country.

It is said that when Henry heard of this unfortunate affair, he uttered bitter threats of vengeance against the Earl of Angus, to whom he had afforded protection during the whole reign of James V., and who, indeed, might have been considered more an English than a Scottish subject. The Earl only remarked, when he was told of King Henry's threats, "Ay, and is my brother of England wroth at my having revenged the breaking of my forefathers' tombs at Melrose? They were better men than he, and I could in honour do no less. And will he take my life for that? Little knows King Henry the heights of Cairntable. I can keep myself safe there against him and all his men." He alluded to a mountain near Douglas Castle, in Lanarkshire, which he justly accounted impregnable to the English forces.

So ended Henry's war against Scotland for the attainment of its Queen in marriage to his son. The Earl of Huntly made a pointed remark on the subject: "he thought well enough of the match, but, in truth, he liked not the way of wooing." It was certainly to be lamented on many accounts; for, besides giving a degree of popularity to the government of Betoun, and thereby operating, in the meantime, as a bar to the advance of the Reformation, it caused the Scottish Queen to be eventually thrown into the arms of France,—a circumstance from which her own great misfortunes, and many years of domestic discord in her country, might fairly be deduced.

The Cardinal, however, was not destined to derive a long-continued prosperity from this turn of affairs. He had for some years employed his immense temporal power in supporting the fabric of Catholicism, which the efforts of a number of secret preachers, and the increasing circulation of the scriptures, were, on the other hand, shaking to its foundations. Resolved to make one terrible example among the preachers, Betoun selected George Wishart, a man of peculiar sanctity of demeanour and zeal in his calling, who for some time had taught the new doctrines in the province of Angus. Being tried in the episcopal court of St.

Andrews, and found guilty, Wishart was condemned to the death of a heretic, and accordingly burnt before the gate of the Cardinal's palace. It is said that, when the holy man was standing at the stake, he predicted that the Cardinal, who sat upon a tapestried balcony to observe the execution, should, ere long, be flung out upon the same spot with ignominy equal to the pomp which now attended him. Reason has since appeared for believing that he was privy to a design, then in existence, for the assassination of Betoun; in which case he might actually know that what he said would come to pass. Some may deem it more likely, from his making a constant affectation of prophesying, that he only spoke at random, and that, as in many other cases, the prediction suggested the event.

There was a gentleman of the name of Lesly, son to the Earl of Rothes, who, being piqued at the Cardinal on account of the refusal of a favour, resolved to assassinate him, thus at once doing his country a service, and gratify his own desire of vengeance. Finding several other enthusiasts willing to join in such an enterprise, he was soon able to project a regular plan for carrying his wish into execution. Betoun then lived in the castle or episcopal palace of St. Andrews, a strong fortress situated on the top of a rock overhanging the sea, and which, at this very time. he was strengthening by additional works. Early in the morning of the 29th of May, 1546, Leslie and his associates, six persons in all, entered the castle with the workmen employed upon it. and, seizing the porter, soon made themselves masters of the fortress. This they did with so little noise, that the Cardinal, who lay in bed, did not know his danger till the voices of the conspirators were heard at his chamber door. They procured admission by a sort of capitulation, and, in the most cold-blooded manner, slew him as he sat in his chair. After this they trailed the inanimate corpse to the battlements, and flung it forth to the gaze of the people, upon the very place where he had sat a few weeks before, in all the pride of uncontrolled power, to behold the death of the protestant martyr. They then prepared to defend themselves in the castle against the authority of the Governor. Being joined by about a hundred and forty persons of their own sentiments, they held out for upwards of a twelvemonth, Henry VIII. openly aiding them in a cause which stood so directly opposed to that at present triumphant in Scotland. At length, on the Governor procuring the proper means of carrying on a siege from France, they were obliged to capitulate. No judicial notice, however, was ever taken of the Cardinal's death; though it was observed, that all of those present came to deaths more or less violent. One was executed nearly thirty years after, for a crime of which he was not guilty.*

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the Kings of England and France, who for upwards of thirty years had exercised so strong an influence over the fortunes of Scotland, died within three months of each other; and while the latter country fell into the hands of Henry II., a sovereign of full age, son to the preceding monarch, England became subject to the Earl of Hertford (who had invaded Scotland two years before), the uncle and guardian of the minor Edward VI. This nobleman, who is much better known by his title of Duke of Somerset, or his official designation of Protector, inherited Henry's ambitious views regarding Scotland, and resolved to prosecute the war with even greater zeal. He entered the country in September, 1547. holding out the same alternatives as before, that either the Scots should consent to match their Queen to his nephew, or expect to see their territory subjected to all the horrors of military execution.

It is impossible to imagine the bitter indignation with which the bulk of the people was animated on this occasion. England and the Protestant religion were confounded together, for the time, in one feeling of wrath and horror. From every part of the country, even from the far Highlands and Isles, men poured to join the standard of the Governor, who was therefore very soon able to face the invader with a force more than equal to his own. Somerset had pitched his army on the heights above the mouth of the river Esk, at Musselburgh, six miles from the capital; and in the neighbouring bay lay a fleet ready to cooperate with his land forces, and to supply them with provisions. Arran posted his battalions on the opposite bank of the Esk, so

as to protect the city; and there the two armies lay for several days, nursing their mutual hatred. It is believed that Somerset was at length so much distressed by the failure of his supplies, as to form the resolution of retiring into England; and we are even told by the Scottish historians, that he began to make movements for that purpose. It was then the obvious policy of the Scots to permit him to commence his retreat, and afterwards to have harrassed him with skirmishing parties amidst the defiles of the Lammermoors, through which he would have to pass on his way home. But the fervid feelings which animated the Scots would not admit of any such calculations. Perceiving, or thinking he perceived, some uneasy flutterings in the English army, the Governor sent a vanguard of ten thousand men, under the Earl of Angus, to cross the river and draw on a battle. The remaining divisions followed as fast as a narrow bridge, over which they had to pass, would permit. At the approach of Angus, the English cavalry rushed forward to make the attack. They were received with firmness by the Scots, who, forming a compact square, and presenting their long spears on every side. resembled more than anything else a castle stuck round with spikes. The English soon retired from an enemy upon whom they could make so little impression, and the Protector then commenced a flank fire with his artillery, which caused the Earl of Angus to shift his position a little, so as to gain protection from the swelling ground to his right. The two rear divisions of the Scottish army saw this movement, which they supposed to be a retreat, and being at the same time galled by a flank fire from the ships, a shameful panic seized them, and they retired precipitately across the river. Angus, now deprived of support, was unable any longer to resist the weight of the English legions; he also commenced a retreat. In the chase which ensued, it is supposed that eight thousand of the Scots fell beneath the English sword, a number far greater than they could have lost in the most toughly contested battle, supposing they had stood their ground. The whole space between Musselburgh and Edinburgh was strewed with dead bodies, and with arms thrown away by the fugitives. This unfortunate affair was called the battle of Pinkie, from a house belonging to the

abbacy of Dunfermline, which stood in the neighbourhood of the place where Angus met the English cavalry, and where the only fighting took place. It was the last, and almost the only battle fought by the Scots in behalf of the Catholic religion.

The consequences of the battle of Pinkie were not so decisive in favour of the English as might have been expected. Somerset advanced to Edinburgh, but was unable to make any impression upon it. He took possession of Leith, and his fleet reduced and threw garrisons into various small fortifications on the islets of the Firth of Forth. But there his conquest ended. He soon after found it necessary to retire to England, to attend to interests more nearly affecting himself.

After his defeat, the Governor had retired to Stirling. There he soon after called a council of the nobility, to which he proposed, as the best means of putting an end to the annoying demands of England, that the young Queen should be transmitted to France, and married to the Dauphin. Under the influence of exasperated feelings, the majority of those present assented to his proposal.

As might be expected, Henry II. eagerly grasped at an offer which promised his race the long-disputed crown of Scotland. To the request of the Scots that he would transmit them some anxiliaries, he at once assented: six thousand French landed next year, under a commander of the name of D'Essé, who immediately proceeded to lay siege to those places of strength in which Somerset had planted garrisons. While besieging the town of Haddington, which was the principal depôt of the English, a treaty was ratified between the two nations, and the marriage finally agreed upon. A party had been mustered against the proposal; but it was of no avail against a measure so consonant with the reigning prejudices. French money, moreover, was employed in reconciling those who were but slighty disaffected. The Governor himself was rewarded with a pension of twelve thousand francs and the title of Duke of Chastelherault.

In consequence of this ill-omened treaty, Mary, who was now six years of age, was brought from the priory of Inchmahame, in

the lake of Monteith, where she had remained since the invasion of 1544, and shipped on board the French vessels at Dumbarton, from whence she was speedily conveyed to France. As it was thus evidently by a general resolution of the nation, that Mary was subjected to a Catholic education, the severe treatment which she afterwards experienced on this account, when the majority of her subjects had become Protestant, must appear the more hard.

A number of circumstances connected with the regency or protectorship of England, now brought that country to ratify a solemn peace with France, in which Scotland was included. An interval of quiet then occurs, during which the Governor Arran, or Chastelherault, remained in quiet possession of his authority in Scotland, while Mary continued under the pupilage of her uncles, the Princes of the house of Guise, who, during this reign, enjoyed supreme influence at the French court. The calm was for the first time disturbed in 1553, by the death of Edward VI. the boypatron of the Reformation, and the accession of his sister Mary, whose austere catholicism instantly gave a different turn to the interests of the new faith. The restoration of popery in England as effectually depressed the opposite cause in Scotland as the presence of a thunder-cloud at the distance of a day's journey will cause a fall in that sensitive fluid which composes the barometer. Under favour of these circumstances, the French court was able to procure the deposition of the Duke of Chastelherault from his office of Governor, and to place Mary of Guise, the Queen mother, in his place. This lady, who acceded to her new situation in April, 1554, was a person of energetic character, thoroughly devoted to the interests of the ancient faith, and to her brothers. the leaders of the French court. Yet, notwithstanding all obstacles, the new doctrines silently and irresistibly gained their way in the hearts of men. Hitherto repressed rather by the prejudice against England and the English match, than by any authority of the government, they required only a certain interval of peace, after the action of those causes of wrath had passed away, in order to obtain their just and natural influence over the public mind.

It ought to be explained that the Catholic church, before the

Reformation, was characterized by the same features in Scotland as in most other countries, though there were, or had been, some points of difference.

At an early period of the history of Scotland, when an attempt was made to reduce it under the ecclesiastical authority of the Archbishop of York, a resistance almost as fierce and uncompromising as that which was presented against the political designs of Edward I., displayed the comparative independence of the people upon the powers of Rome. It is also observable, that when the Pope thought proper to excommunicate Robert Bruce, the people were very little affected by what, in most other countries, would have operated as a complete remission of the national allegiance. Through all succeeding ages of their history, up to the reign of King James IV., the Scots showed themselves to be among the most intractable of the subjects of the Vatican, partly from the difficulty of getting a legate to execute the papal warrants in such a rude country, and partly from that wild spirit of independence which has been so often alluded to as characterising the people. It was not without considerable justice that, when Elizabeth's Commissioners, at the trial of Queen Mary, in 1568, presented the old claim of paramountcy over Scotland, Maitland of Lething. ton made his famous reply, "that Scotland was more free than England herself had been of late, when she paid Peter's pence to Rome." This degradation, which the bigot Mary had caused her people to submit to, was certainly unknown in Scottish history.

If the Scottish church was thus independent before the Reformation, it was equally free of the great vices which characterised the catholic system in other countries. Previous to the reign of James V., when vitiated by their connection with the state, and induced to take desperate expedients for the support of their tottering system, the clergy appear to have possessed many virtues, and indeed to have been in no respect reprehensible, except so far as they were, wittingly or unwittingly, instrumental in keeping the national mind in darkness. In those earlier times, ere their endowments had become too much for virtue, we find them characterised by chastity, by learning, and by public spirit. What, for instance, can be more amiable than the character of Bishop Wardlaw, of St. Andrews, who, being desired by his chamberlain.

to limit the hospitalities of his palace, and appoint only a certain few who should have the privilege of his table, mentioned Fife and Angus as two of the guests he should always like to entertainthereby meaning two populous districts belonging to his see? This person had condemned a priest to death for the Wickliffe heresy: but he also erected the university of St. Andrews.—a lamp from which a whole nation might catch that very illumination, which, with the short-sightedness of the age, he wished to extinguish in an individual. In a later age, what can be more dignified or worthy than the character of Bishop Kennedy, who saved the crown to his sovereign, and was lamented at his death, as if every man in the realm had lost a friend? What, again, more amiable than that of Bishop Elphinstone, of Aberdeen, founder of the college at that city, the patron of learning, the constructor of every description of public work that could be useful to his fellow-creatures, and who felt so deeply the calamities of the nation at the battle of Flodden, as never afterwards to be seen with a smile upon his face, till his noble mind sunk under the weight of his grief, and found relief in the common grave of his king and country? Nor is it to be supposed that these instances of worth, which could be greatly multiplied, were isolated in a system which exhibited general profligacy: the existence of merit in the dignitaries, sanctions a supposition that the inferiors were also worthy; while the utter silence of the minute and familiar chroniclers of the period, renders it almost certain that no extensive system of demoralization was known. It must also be remembered, that, however inapplicable as a system of religious instruction, the church was the sole depositary and vehicle of the learning of the age. Even in the vicious era of James V., we find the English ambassador himself forming an excuse for that sovereign's partiality to the counsels of his clergy, fatal as it was to the interests of his own master, by acknowledging the superior information and tact of that body, as contrasted with the nobility. So much may be said in a spirit of candour regarding an ancient mode of faith and worship, which we are too apt to consider as an unredeemed mass of wickedness and error, and which it is to be wished, for reasons affecting our present social relations, that we should regard with a kinder eye than our fathers.

There was, as just alluded to, a considerable difference between the condition of the Scottish church before, and at the period of the Reformation. At the latter epoch it displayed a degree of viciousness, both in system and in the conduct of its members, without which, perhaps, no revolution could have been accomplished.

Nothing perhaps could prove more convincingly the degenerate condition of the church in this age, than to find such a man as Betoun at its head. As the virtues of Wardlaw, Elphinstone, and Gavin Douglas, ought to convey a good impression of the clergy of their times, so ought the profligacy of the great cardinal to bring condemnation upon those belonging to the later age tluring which he flourished. But the shameful lives of these individuals is proved by more direct evidence—by the edicts which were issued by councils, in the vain hope of causing them to amend their behaviour. James V. we are told, with all his reliance upon the clergy, was so strongly convinced of the danger which their conduct brought upon the established religion, that when they crowded around him at court, he would sometimes start up in a rage, and cry. * Pack, ye jesuits, get you to your charge, and reform your lives, and be not instruments of discord between my nobility and me, or else I vow to God I shall reform you—not as the King of Denmark doth, by imprisonment, neither yet as the King of England doth, by hanging and heading; but I shall reprove you by sharper instruments;" and he would suit the action to the word. by drawing his dagger, and brandishing it in a menacing manner before their eyes.

The only members of the Church who could then be said to be animated hy a spirit of duty, were the Begging or Preaching Friars (*Fratres Mendicantes*), who constantly went from one place to another in humble attire, and, as their name bespeaks, delivered sermons to the people, in return for which they begged small donations. Lindsay, alluding to this body, says:—

"Were it not for the preaching frieres, Gane were the faith of the seculieres."

And yet it is said that even these men latterly became wealthy

and indolent like the rest. Buchanan relates that when one of their establishments was broken up at Perth, there was as much salted meat found in their barrels, although it was near the end of the season, as might have maintained the whole inmates for a twelvemonth. And he puns upon their name, saying that they ought rather to have been called *Fratres Manducantes*, the Chewing or Eating Friars, than the *Fratres Mendicantes*, which referred to their primitive character as beggars.

A controversy which arose among the churchmen themselves in the year 1550, and of which Spottiswood, the historian, gives a curious relation, may communicate to the reader a very vivid idea of their besotted ignorance and stupidity. "One Richard Marshall, Prior of the Black Friars at Newcastle, in England. had been in St. Andrews, and in one of his sermons taught that the Pater Noster should be said to God only, and not unto the Some Doctors of the University, taking exception against his doctrine, stirred up a grey friar called Friar Tottis, to confute him, and prove that the Pater Noster might be said unto the saints. The friar, an audacious and ignorant fellow, took the matter in hand, and, reading the text out of the fifth of Matthew's Gospel, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for unto them belongeth the Kingdom of Heaven,' gathered upon it, 'That the Pater Noster might be said unto the saints, because all the petitions in the prayer,' said he, 'appertain to the saints. For if we meet an old man in the street, we will say, Good morrow father, much more in our prayers may we call the saints our fathers. And seeing we grant they are in heaven, me may say to every one of them, Our father which art in heaven. Then we know,' said he, 'God hath made their names holy: therefore we may say to every one of them, Hallowed be thy name. And as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is theirs by possession; therefore, when we pray for the kingdom of heaven, we may say unto any of them. Thy kingdom come. In like manner, except their will had been the will of God, they had never come to that kingdom: therefore, seeing their will is God's will, we say to every one of them. Thy will be done.' But when he came to the fourth petition, he was much troubled to find a colour for it, confessing it

was not in the saints' power to give us daily bread. 'Yet they may pray,' said he, 'to God for us, that he will give us our daily bread.' The like gloss he made upon the rest of the petitions, but with so little satisfaction to the hearers, that they fell a-laughing, and the children meeting him in the streets did cry and call him Friar Pater-noster; whereof he grew so ashamed that he left the city."

This affair was not yet done. For some time after, the Doctors of the University, and the whole clergy of the city, occupied themselves in wranglings about the proper object of the Lord's prayer, starting and patronising a thousand scholastic subtleties, rather than acknowledge the obvious fact that it is addressed to the Deity. It was no wonder, when the public instructors suffered themselves to be so far misled from common sense, that simple clowns should have dared to think for themselves. Spottiswood further relates that the mighty question was at length given up by the learned men of St. Andrews, to be decided at a provincial Synod, which was to meet some time after at Edinburgh. During the interval. "a simple fellow that served the Sub-prior in his chamber, thinking there was some great matter in hand that made the Doctors to convene so often, asked him one night as he went to bed, what the matter was. The sub-prior merrily answering, 'Tom. (that was the fellow's name), we cannot agree to whom the Pater-noster should be said,' he quickly replied, 'Sir, whom to should it be said but to God?' 'Then,' said the Sub-prior, what shall we do with the saints? Tom answered, 'Give them aves and credes enow in the devil's name, for that may suffice them.' This answer going abroad, many said that Tom had given a wiser decision than all the Doctors had done with their distinctions."

CHAPTER X.

THE REFORMATION.

To resume the current of our history. It was soon found by the Queen Regent that she had acceded to no easy seat, and that, without a French standing army, she would be unable to preserve the interests of the Church, and of her French relatives. The reformed doctrines were not now confined, as before, to apostate friars, and to certain orders of the people. They were beginning to work their way among the gentry, or lesser barons, and to have greater effect than ever among the nobility; men who, in addition to other reasons for patronising the Reformation, had the strong motive of cupidity; the dissolution of the Church promising to them, as in England, a vast harvest of territorial grants. Persons of this order did not now scruple to entertain the emissaries of reform in their own houses. Everywhere there prevailed a tone of ridicule and hostility against the Church.

The change of the popular feeling-for the spirit which had raised the country in opposition to the English match was, as already mentioned, much decayed—soon manifested itself in popular riots against the French soldiery, and in a general spirit of insubordination to the Queen Regent's authority. It was seen necessary by her, or her advisers, that a larger body of French troops should be maintained in the country; and for this purpose she took measures for imposing a land tax. This effectually roused the reformed gentry. Three hundred of them met at Edinburgh, and represented to her that, if the country should be threatened by any foreign enemies, they themselves could defend it with their vassals, as their ancestors had done before them. She was obliged to give up the project. Next year, the clergy were alarmed by the powerful preaching of John Knox, a reformed friar, of peculiar boldness and energy of character, as well as the most enthusiastic piety, who, after an absence of some years in other countries, had returned to his native land, for the purpose of assisting in what he called "the good work." On this person

being cited to answer for his heretical dogmas before an ecclesiastical council, such a large assemblage of gentlemen favourable to his doctrines appeared in arms to protect him-a regular custom in Scotland when the accused individual was the protégé of a party—that the clergy were obliged to give up the design of prosecuting him. The Church was now weakened by a circumstance unconnected with the hostile party. The Queen Dowager, on her accession to the government, had degraded the Archbishop of St. Andrews from his dignity as Chancellor of the Kingdom, and thereby rendered him an enemy. This dignitary, as the brother (though an illegitimate one) of the ex-Regent Chastelherault, and a man of powerful mind, had been the leader of the clergy since the death of Betoun. By offending such a person, the Queen placed herself in the strange predicament of being no great favourite with that very body whose interests she professed to protect, and who ought, in such circumstances, to have been her chief supporters.

The weakness of her government was testified in a remarkable manner in the year 1556. France having then entered into a war with Spain, whose sovereign, Philip II., had become the husband of the English Queen, an army of English was sent to the assistance of the latter country; on which the French Court thought it but right to employ Scotland, which was already, or would soon become, an appanage of their crown, to make a diversion by declaring war against England. Mary, in obedience to the directions of her brothers, caused her French troops to make hostile manifestations on the frontier of England, and required her subjects to meet in arms for the purpose of invading that country. To her great mortification, she found it absolutely impossible to form an army for such a purpose. already of the old Scottish spirit of hostility against the English was effaced from the public mind, by the influence of a common religion.

Such being the state of the national feeling, nothing but some exasperating circumstance was required to bring on a struggle for mastery between the reformed and non-reformed powers of the state. This was supplied two years after, when the death of the English persecutrix, Mary, led to the re-establishment of the

Protestant faith in that kingdom under Elizabeth. In the view of all Protestants, Elizabeth was the legitimate heir of the crown, as the daughter of Henry VIII. by his wife Anne Bullen. All Catholics, however, both British and foreign, and at their head the Roman Pontiff himself, disowned her right, alleging that the union of her father and mother, as carried into effect in opposition to the bull of the Pope, was not a lawful marriage. This body of Christians esteemed her as an illegitimate usurper, and represented the young Queen of Scotland, who was now receiving her education at the French Court, as the real heiress of the crown of England. In an evil hour for the peace of Queen Mary, her French protectors resolved upon asserting this equivocal title. She was married (April 1558) to Francis the Dauphin, and every piece of plate, and almost every article of furniture belonging to the young pair, was impressed with a coat armorial, in which the arms of England were quartered with those of Scotland and France. The restoration of the Catholic faith in England, and the establishment of Mary upon the throne of that kingdom, were thus identified; and, at an age when she could not be expected to comprehend any political relations whatever, she unconsciously became an object of jealousy and hate to the English Protestants, including their Queen, and the subject of fearful forebodings to such of her own natural subjects as were of the same persuasion.

The adoption of these ambitious views by the family of Guise necessarily implied that every exertion should be made to repress the progress of the reformed doctrines in Scotland. The Queen-Regent, under the direction of her brothers, began to take strong measures for this purpose. At the celebration of the festival of St. Giles, in Edinburgh, a statue of that holy man was customarily carried through the streets upon a sort of litter, to receive the adorations of the crowd. Previous to this festival in 1558, some wicked Protestant stole the statue from its proper niche in the High Church, and threw it into a lake beside the city. In this emergency the priests were compelled to borrow a substitute statue from the neighbouring monastery of grey friars, which they proceeded to carry through the streets, as if nothing had happened. The ridicule of the occasion was too much to be

withstood; first, a jostling commenced in the crowd; then, the priests who formed the procession, were driven violently against each other; finally, as the hubbub increased, the litter which supported the statue was thrown down, and young St. Giles, as the populace termed him, being seized irreverently by the lower extremities, was dashed in such a manner against the pavement, as to lose both head and arms. "Then," as John Knox mirthfully informs us in his history of the Reformation, a great affray took place among the attendants; "the grey friars gaped, the black friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he who first got to the house, for such a sudden fray never came among the generation of Antichrist within this realm before." The Queen Regent thought this a favourable opportunity for inflicting a blow upon the reformers, and she permitted the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to whom she had latterly been reconciled, to burn an aged priest, who was found guilty of preaching the new doctrines.

The Protestants now saw it to be necessary to take some decisive measures for their preservation. They entered into a general bond, or covenant, by which they obliged themselves to peril every thing, even life itself, in resisting the tyrannical proceedings which the Queen Regent or the clergy might institute against any individual of their number. To this the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, and many other persons of high influence, set their names: and in brief space the reforming party became regularly formed, as its opinions were openly avowed.

Mary, some time previously, had been glad to flatter the reforming lords with smooth words and fair promises, in order that they might favour her with their votes in parliament for an act to equalize Francis the dauphin with his wife in the sovereignty of Scotland;* but now, when that object was attained, she willingly forgot all those dalliances. Upon a deputation being sent to her to remind her of her promises, she

^{*} It was a custom of Scotland, that a peeress in her own right, or any ordinary heiress, conferred her titles, whether real or of courtesy, upon her husband. In compliance with this practice, it was thought proper that Mary's husband should become as much King of Scotland as she was Queen. Wence,

exclaimed, "The promises of princes ought not to be claimed with rigour: they are only binding when subservient to our conveniency and pleasure." And she added a threat, that the reforming ministers should be banished from Scotland, "though they were to preach as soundly as St. Paul." The commissioners replied, with becoming spirit, that if these were her sentiments, they must renounce their allegiance, and cease to be her subjects.

Some time after, hearing that Paul Methven, one of the apostles of the reformed doctrines, was preaching in Perth, Mary summoned the provost, Lord Ruthven, to her presence, and commanded him to go and suppress those tumultuous assemblages, which every day took place within his jurisdiction. Ruthven replied, in a very spirited manner, that he had power over the bodies and goods of his townsmen, and these he should place at his sovereign's command; but he had no power over their minds and consciences. She was much offended at this answer, and granted commission to the provost of the rival town of Dundee to put her desires into execution. But even here she was foiled. The Provost of Dundee, though he might have been willing to execute any royal warrant against Perth under ordinary circumstances, hesitated on the present occasion, and gave Paul Methven a hint to make his escape. The Queen then resolved upon making an effort against the whole body of the preachers, and summoned them to appear before her on the 10th of May, 1559, at Stirling.

On the 2d of May, in obedience to an invitation from the leaders of the party, John Knox arrived at Edinburgh from Geneva. He found the whole population in a flame regarding the Queen's summons, and preparations made in every province to accompany their preachers in arms to the court, so as to protect them from violence. He advanced with a great band of the people of Angus to Perth, which was destined to be the

after this act of parliament, all public documents ran in the name of Francis and Mary, he being generally styled King Dauphin. The necessity of an act of parliament for such an extension of sovereignty, may be considered as a point in favour of parliamentary title.

stronghold of the Reformation for a certain time; and Erskine of Dun, an eminent reforming baron, was deputed to inform the Queen of their intentions.

Mary was alarmed at this popular manifestation, which she had no immediate means of resisting, and, to gain a temporary advantage, she gave Erskine a promise that, if the people would consent to disperse, she should quell proceedings against the ministers. On this being communicated to the multitudes assembled at Perth, they willingly yielded to her wishes, expecting, of course, to hear no more of the intended prosecution. Great was their surprise on the 10th of May, when it was discovered that the Queen denounced the ministers as rebels for not appearing at Stirling. She had returned to her maxim, that there was no necessity for keeping her word, except when it was convenient.

While the minds of men were fired with indignation at this second instance of perfidy, John Knox mounted the pulpit at Perth, to preach what historians call his "thundering" sermon against idolatry. The bulk of the army which had assembled at this city during the previous week, was gone; only the leaders remained. His audience, however, comprised the inhabitants of the town, who had already distinguished themselves not a little by their attachment to the reformed doctrines. After a violent harangue against the Catholic faith, seasoned with pointed allusions to the wicked government of the Queen Regent, a priest entered the church to sav mass, thinking no doubt that the exhibition of one of the holiest rites of the church would have the effect of neutralising the inflammatory appeal of the reformer. This was opposing straw to steel. A stone thrown by a boy, which broke one of the little glass cases containing the images of the saints, was the signal for a simultaneous attack upon the ornaments of the church. Altars, pictures, statues, painted windows, all those objects which for ages had inspired and assisted the devotion of the people, were in a few minutes demolished, and madly trampled under foot. Nor was the work of destruction to rest here. The crowd proceeded from this church to the monasteries of the black and grey friars, and finally to a convent of Carthusians, all of which they dismantled in a similar manner. In two days, we are told, nothing was left of these establishments but the bare walls; every thing else was either destroyed by the mob, or carried off by the monks. John Knox assures us, and we can fully believe the allegation, that on this occasion the populace showed a noble disregard of personal profit. No one, according to him, appropriated a single article, though thousands of valuable things lay at their disposal; the one grand passion under which they acted, had so completely overpowered every other.

Mary, on learning what had taken place, was so extremely incensed as to vow that she would expiate the outrage by the blood of the citizens. Learning that the Reformers were again gathering towards Perth, she sent letters to her friends, the Earls of Athol, Arran, and Argyle, commanding them to attend her with their followers; and, collecting all the French soldiers in the kingdom, she prepared to set forward from Stirling. On the other hand, the leaders of the Congregation, as they now termed themselves, summoned all their partizans to Perth, in order to make a stand against her. Such was the zeal of the Earl of Glencairn on this occasion, that, finding all the low-country roads guarded, and all the bridges broken down, by the Queen Regent. he led his company, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, over the hills from Avrshire, and through all the intermediate rivers, till he reached the rendezvous at Perth. It is told, that every individual in the army wore a cord of six quarters in length round his neck, wherewith he might be hanged if he should flee. and with which, in the event of victory, he might hang the French soldiers.* Mary arrived on the 22d at Auchterarder, a few miles from Perth, having been detained for some days by the difficulty of bringing forward her artillery.

The Congregation had employed the interval in writing letters of remonstrance to all the powers opposed to them. To the Queen herself they sent a respectful manifesto, avowing sincere respect for her person as their lawful ruler, and also unfailing allegiance to Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland,

^{*} Hence, it is supposed, the phrase, "A St. Johnston's tippet," signifying * halter; St. Johnston being the ancient and popular name of Perth.

but assuring her that they would encounter every hazard before resigning the arms which they had taken up for the purpose of securing liberty of conscience. To the clergy they wrote in furious terms, threatening, that unless religious persecution was stopped, they should proclaim an exterminating war against its authors, and not spare any one who might fall into their hands. They beseeched the nobility who attended the Queen, to give them a hearing in open parliament; and they told the French commander, D'Oysel, that if his followers began a war on this account with the people of Scotland, they should never find it at an end so long as Scotsmen existed.

The Queen Regent was so far affected by their bold language. and the accounts she heard of their numbers, as to think it advisable to make them an overture for a capitulation; a course of conduct the more prudent on her part, as it promised to afford her time for increasing her army from France, while the insurgents would more probably lose both numbers and zeal by delay. A treaty was accordingly entered into on the 29th of May, the substance of which was, that all things were to be left to the next parliament, the Reformers, in the meantime, quitting Perth. and the Queen engaging that no French garrison should be left Before disbanding, the Congregation entered into a new and solemn bond of mutual defence, and the Earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, who had acted as the Queen's envoys, though secretly inclined to the cause of Reform, promised to the insurgents that, on the first breach of faith on her part, they should no longer remain in her service, but instantly declare for the Congregation.

The individual last mentioned was destined to act so conspicuous a part in the history of the next age, that he well deserves some particular notice. He was a natural son of King James V., and consequently a brother of Queen Mary. When a mere child, his father had conferred upon him the rich priory of St. Andrews; and, but for the breaking out of the Reformation, he might perhaps have spent a noteless life, as a mere church dignitary. The stir of that great event had roused his young spirit into vivid action, and opened up prospects, which the ambition resulting from his peculiar birth caused him to seize

with great eagerness. Lord James Stuart, as he was called after this period, possessed, with all his secret aspirations, much natural worth, much correct feeling, great public spirit, and withal a degree of sagacity and good temper which alike gave him command over himself and his fellows. Thoroughly brave, like his illustrious progenitors, his knowledge of military tactics was superior to anything with which his own countrymen were acquainted; and he was gifted in an especial degree with the qualities requisite for a high political situation. Though only twenty-seven years of age, and thrown into the world with little fortune besides his name, already had he figured in diplomatic transactions of great national weight, and made such an advance in the affections of the people as to raise a fear for the security of the crown in its legitimate possessor. He required but to declare himself in favour of the Congregation, in order to place himself at the head of that large party, which was destined soon to become the leading one in the state.

It required but little time to prove the futility of the last treaty. Mary, on the very day of her entry into the town, introduced French soldiers. One of them, either by chance or design, shot a boy, the son of an ardent reformer; which only drew from her the remark, " that the circumstance was much to be regretted, in so far as it was the son and not the father." Instead of respecting the citizens, as she had promised in the treaty, she banished some and fined others. She also appointed a papist provost, and left strict orders that the Catholic form of religion should alone be exercised in the town. These proceedings very quickly reached the ears of the Reformers, and only five days after they had dispersed their last army, they prepared to assemble it once more. The Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stuart now judged it proper to join them. On this occasion the rendezvous was at St. Andrews, while the Queen Regent assembled her army at Falkland.

In the meantime John Knox was no inactive agent. He preached on the 9th of June at Crail, a sea-port in the eastern angle of Fife, and the next day at Anstruther, a neighbouring town. At both places the shrines of Catholicism were immediately defaced. He had announced his intention of preaching on

the 11th of the month in the cathedral of St. Andrews. Archbishop Hamilton garrisoned it beforehand with a hundred soldiers. Knox advanced like a devoted knight of the days of chivalry to redeem his pledge. At his approach the enthusiasm of the people gave Hamilton the alarm, and he withdrew with his men. The reformer then preached a sermon in the parish church; and that very day the cathedral was destroyed. A building little inferior in size to St. Paul's, at London, and which had been reared by the labour of a hundred and fifty-nine years, was destroyed by an infuriated mob in a single afternoon.

When the Queen Regent learned what had taken place, she was extremely incensed, and immediately ordered her army to march to St. Andrews. The Lords of the Congregation had as vet no followers collected. They were, however, so confident of immediate accessions of strength, as to take possession of Cupar that night with only a hundred of their body servants. Next day three thousand were at their command. It seemed, says John Knox, as if men rained from the clouds. With this force Lord James Stuart took up a position in the moor of Cupar, and waited the advance of the Queen's host. Again Mary was daunted by the bold front of the Reformers. She succeeded in forming another treaty with them, agreeing to withdraw her army out of Fife, and to appoint within eight days a committee of nobles to settle a further and permanent truce. In consequence of this, the Lords of the Congregation disbanded their troops, and retired peaceably to St. Andrews.

A third time the Queen's faith was broken. The commission never was appointed. After full time was allowed, the reforming leaders resolved to re-assemble their troops, and correct the breaches which had taken place in the former treaty at Perth. Marching thither, they soon expelled the Catholic garrison, and re-appointed a Protestant magistracy. On the succeeding day, some of their number suggested, that while they were here they should take order (this was the favourite phrase) with the neighbouring abbacy of Scone, which was tenanted, it seems, by a most flagitious fraternity of monks. The suggestion was at once adopted. A mob immediately proceeded to the monastery, and, although some of the leading men, and even Knox himself,

endeavoured to save it, inspired probably by veneration for the historical character of the edifice,* it was set fire to and burnt to the ground.

The Reformers, being now more confident in their cause, thought they might act a little upon the offensive, or at least take measures of precaution against the subsequent or possible acts of the Queen Regent. Learning that she intended to garrison Stirling, and thereby confine them to the north of the Forth, they hastily advanced to that town, and reduced it to their obedience, taking order, as a matter of course, with all the ecclesiastical establishments. They next moved forward to Linlithgow, which they also reformed, and then to Edinburgh. Mary, unable to offer adequate resistance, fled to Dunbar, leaving them to occupy the seat of government. Of course they did not fail to purge the churches of the capital. They also seized the mint, and proceeded to coin a purer species of money than that which had lately been in circulation; an act which shows, among many others, that they also contemplated temporal reform,

Hitherto the Reformation had triumphed, as it appeared. purely from the overbearing force of the popular sentiment. With the exception of the Queen and her French attendants, the Catholic clergy, and at most three of the Scottish nobles, there now remained no force in the country to oppose it. So prevalent was the spirit, so entirely did it embrace the popular interests. that the leaders of the Reformation might almost be said to have become the governors of the kingdom. Here, however, it received a temporary check. The Queen Regent knew that in such a case time was not apt to increase the public enthusiasm. therefore resolved to take no hasty steps. After some weeks had been spent in fruitless negociation, many of the followers of the confederated Lords found it necessary to go home, in order to attend to private business; others became afraid lest an utter subversion of authority should take place; the leaders themselves became less vigilant than formerly, in proportion as there seemed less danger. On the 22nd of July, the Queen Regent, suddenly

^{*} Scone was the place where the Scottish Kings had in early times been crowned.

advancing to Edinburgh with her troops, found them quite unprepared for defence. They were obliged to return to what had been settled by former treaties, namely, to give up the appearance of an army, and wait for the redress of their grievances till the meeting of parliament. Such an arrangement, of course, implied that they should leave the city vacant to the Queen.

At this juncture her Majesty's interests derived some advantage from the death of Henry II. of France, and the consequent accession of Francis II., the husband of the young Queen of Scots. By this change of Kings, France naturally fell more than ever under the power of the Princes of Guise; because, in addition to their relationship to the Queen, Francis was of so weak an understanding as to offer no obstacle to their ambition, even had it been greater. The whole power, therefore, of this kingdom was now brought to bear against the progress of the new faith in Scotland. A considerable armament was immediately prepared in France for the assistance of the Queen Regent.

The reformed Lords beheld this threatened invasion with great alarm; yet they were not utterly downcast. They had, since the last treaty, received into their bond of union no less important an adherent than the Duke of Chastelherault, who, after two vacillations was now directed by what he conceived to be the interests of his family to return to the reformed doctrines. They had also sounded the mind of Queen Elizabeth, and found her disposed to assist them against the French interest, which, in the event of a triumph over Scotland, as already explained, threatened her with the loss of her crown, and her country with a change of its religion.

In the course of the ensuing autumn, several thousand troops arrived from France, bringing considerable sums of money, and a vast quantity of ammunition. As the best depot for her forces, Mary fortified the seaport towns of Leith, about a mile from Edinburgh. The Lords of the Congregation, having remonstrated in vain, met in Edinburgh on the 21st of October, and, under the character of a privy council of their King and Queen, solemnly deposed the Regent from her authority. This act, though in a modern monarchical government it would have been called a rebel-

lion, was in unison with the practice of the Scottish nobility towards their sovereigns in the event of incapacity or misgovernment. In directing their efforts, therefore, against the fortifications of Leith, the Lords could only be considered as endeavouring to expel a foreign power which had planted itself by force in a corner of the kingdom.

A contest such as this, between a nation and one of its towns, even though the latter were garrisoned by four thousand foreign soldiers, could scarcely, under ordinary circumstances, have continued long. In the present case an inequality, greater than can well be believed, arose from the ignorance of gunnery and want of discipline which prevailed among the Reformers. Two instances had lately occurred in Scottish history, the siege of Tantallan by James V. in 1528, and that of the Castle of St. Andrew's by the Governor Arran in 1546-7, in which the whole power of the existing government was defied by a fortress verging upon the sea. It was now to be seen that one fortified town could hold out against the whole nation, even though that nation was inspired in its attacks by all the fervour of religion.

The Congregational party was established once more in the city of Edinburgh, to carry on the seige of Leith. A small train of artillery being supplied by the inhabitants of Dundee, an attempt was made to plant it as a battery on a convenient spot. The French, however, sallying out, beat off the party, and seized the artillery; on which occasion the Reformers, being greatly afraid lest the French might cut off their retreat to Edinburgh, thronged in at the Netherbow Port with such clamour and disorder, says John Knox, "as we lust not to express with multiplication of words." On another occasion, the French attempting to cut off a supply of provisions to the Congregation, and a party marching out to protect it, the latter were driven into Edinburgh under equally disgraceful circumstances. Two such discomfitures were, for a time, decisive of the war; and the confederated Lords were obliged, with a much diminished force, to fall back upon Stirling.

It being now resolved to call in the assistance of the English, a deputation was sent to Elizabeth for that purpose; and in the meantime a kind of provisional government was established in two opposite quarters of the kingdom, Glasgow and St. Andrews.

to manage the general affairs. Mary was so far emboldened by her success as to send a party over to Fife for the purpose of dislodging the force at St. Andrews; but, ere it reached its destination, an English fleet, containing the first detachment of Queen Elizabeth's auxiliary troops, sailed into the Firth of Forth, being the first time that an armament from that country had appeared in Scotland with an amicable intention. The French party then returned to Leith with the greatest precipitation, and not without considerable loss. At one part of their retreat, they were obliged to supply a bridge, which had been cut by the Scots, with the roof of a neighbouring church, which they took off entire and laid down across the vacant space.

This happened in January 1560. In April, an army of six thousand men entered the country at Berwick, under the command of Lord Grey, a nobleman whose family, to render this affair the more remarkable as indicating a change of sentiments in the people, had lost two representatives in the wars carried on by Henry VIII. against the principle of Catholicism in Scotland. The Scots immediately joined forces with the English, thereby bringing into friendly contact many men who had recently fought against each other; the feeling of a common religion overthrowing at once the inveterate resentment of centuries. After a smart skirmish with the French, they entered together into camp at Hawk-hill, near Leith, and immediately opened up an extensive system of attack upon the Queen's garrison.

Some embarrassments of their own happened to render it difficult for the Princes of Guise, at this time, to send such succours to their sister, as might have been required to withstand the combined armies. All that the well-known valour of a French soldiery could do in defending the town, and making sallies upon the besiegers was done; but everything was unfavourable to them. An accidental fire destroyed their granaries; the English fleet prevented the access of supplies by the port; the assailants also seem to have gained considerable advantage by attacking them in the time of Easter, when religious scruples prevented them from acting in any way except on the defensive. The Queen Regent, falling into ill-health from the agitation of her spirits, retired to Edinburgh Castle, and left them in some measure destitute of a

leader. All these circumstances together soon brought them to that submission which might have been anticipated from the inequality of their numbers.

On the 10th of June the Queen died, after an interview with the chief Reformers, in which she expressed her regret for the recent troubles, and recommended that, for the preservation of the independence of Scotland, both the French and English armies should be sent home. The Princes of Guise, now seeing their interests to be desperate in Scotland, gave powers to two diplomatists to form a treaty of peace with two commissioners appointed by Elizabeth; in consequence of which a deed was constructed. a kind of Scottish Magna Charta, binding Francis and Mary to grant large concessions to their Scottish subjects, and to ratify whatever resolution might be made on the score of religion in parliament. By virtue of this treaty, the English and French retired from Scotland, leaving the government in the hands of the Congregational Lords, who soon after, in parliament, established the Protestant doctrines by solemn statute. The personal reward of Elizabeth for her timely succour was an obligation entered into by the French commissioners that their master and mistress should thenceforth cease to bear the arms of England. But in reality she had accomplished much more for the advantage of her country. in the assurance she had given it of a continued Protestant ascendancy in Scotland.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

At the very time when monarchical government experienced this humiliation in Scotland, there was not in the whole world a personage whose fate appeared more glorious than that of its Queen. Mary, besides her patrimonial inheritance of Scotland, enjoyed a seat on the throne of France, and was the heir-presumptive of England: it seemed likely that her eldest son should

become the sovereign of all the three countries, and thereby be rendered the most powerful Prince in Europe. Strange to say, a few brief months saw this splendid prospect grow dim and fade. Francis died in December, 1560, without any offspring; the French crown passed to a younger brother; the supreme power to his ambitious mother, Catherine de Medici; the influence of the Guise princes perished; Mary lost all her interest in France, except what she possessed in the affections of the people: she was left without the least result from her long residence in that country, except the unfortunate one of her Catholic education.

It now seemed proper that she should return to take the management of her own little kingdom, which, since the death of her mother in June, had been under no regular authority. Such was the general wish of her subjects, who, indeed, rejoiced in her childless widowhood, since it promised that the monarchy should not be engrossed in that of France. It was also perceived by her uncles that, since France was lost to her, she ought to make the best she could of Scotland, which, rude and revolutionized as it was, might still be used as a good stepping-stone for the acquisition of England. The Catholic party in Scotland, now headed by the great northern chief, the Earl of Huntly, proposed to bring her into the kingdom, and re-establish her throne and the ancient religion in their pristine form; but she wisely preferred to enter by the protection of her Protestant subjects, who had given too recent and too striking a proof of their power to make the boasts of their opponents worthy of much credit.

It was with feelings of the utmost joy, though not without misgivings regarding her personal creed, that reformed Scotland beheld its young Queen arrive, August 31, 1561, to re-illumine the halls of Holyrood with the splendours of a court. Mary was now approaching nineteen, and her beauty was of passing lustre. The graces, however, which had charmed the more susceptible French, seem to have been little regarded in Scotland: there is not in any Scottish chronicle or history the slightest allusion to that loveliness, which figures so prominently in every French work regarding her; the only sentiment she seems to have excited in this colder clime, was one of thankfulness for her having no

French offspring, which might have united the two countries into one sovereignty.

Mary, at her first appearance in Scotland, submitted entirely to Protestant counsels. She still cherished her own faith in the recesses of her heart, and even performed her devotions according to the old ritual in her private chapel at the palace: in every other respect, she acted as if the Catholic religion did not exist. As if to show that she had no expectation of its ever being re-established, she gave away a great quantity of the church lands to her Protestant counsellors and to municipal corporations, devoted much of it to the use of the reformed clergy, and erected out of it various charitable and educational institutions. To her brother, Lord James, who was her prime minister, she gave the title and estates of Mar, a very substantial reward for his exertions in favour of the Reformation. A Catholic rebellion, raised by the Earl of Huntly, she caused to be suppressed with much rigour. In short, the government of Queen Mary was conducted in a style eminently popular, and such as should have secured her a better reputation as a ruler among her historians. There is perhaps no instance of a prince in that age governing a people, whose religion was different, with so much moderation.

Had Mary, however, been an angel upon earth, it is evident, from her relation to Elizabeth, and her claims of succession to the English throne, that she could not have been free from trouble. Elizabeth never could forgive Mary's innocent assumpof the arms of England. In the treaty, by which the Reformation of religion was agreed upon, a clause had been admitted by the French commissioners, which bound Francis and Mary never again to wear those arms. Mary, conceiving that this was an attempt to betray her into a renunciation of her claims upon the English crown, could never be induced to sign the treaty, but gave her subjects an act, which equally ensured to them all that was stipulated in it for their interest. This served Elizabeth as a never-failing excuse for annoying the Scottish Queen.

Mary also suffered not a little at the hands of her own subjects. Notwithstanding all her concessions to the spirit of Protestantism, it was still a subject of discontent that she was herself of a different persuasion. More than one attempt was made by the populace to break into her private chapel, even while she was engaged in her devotions, for the purpose of destroying the furniture and killing the priests. The principal preacher, the famous John Knox, launched scurrilous invectives against her from the city pulpit, which he exclusively possessed; and when invited by Mary to a conference, and mildly entreated to be more discreet, he replied in such disrespectful terms, as caused the Queen to burst into tears. By pageants, also, and shows, they were perpetually endeavouring to insult her on this score. Her most innocent recreations, her most profound views of state policy, were alike the subject of rebuke and censure. It did not occur to them, in the present excited state of their minds, that instances of unnecessary petulance towards a sovereign, are apt to give sanction to those violent proceedings against public liberty, which it is their object to check.

For four years, however, Mary continued to reign without making the least encroachment upon the rights of her subjects; nor during that time was the slightest suspicion expressed regarding the purity of her private life. Attracted by her prospect of succeeding to the English crown, many of the most distinguished princes in Europe sought her alliance; but for a long time she seemed inclined, like her cousin of England, to prefer a life of celibacy. Elizabeth, who was undoubtedly aware that she never should have any direct heir, was exceedingly jealous lest Mary, by marrying and having children, should acquire superior importance in the eyes of her subjects, and either make an attempt to usurp the throne, or at least exercise an undue influence in the kingdom before acceding to it; she therefore took every means in her power to thwart the matrimonial designs which at length were formed by the Scottish Queen.

The person eventually pitched upon by Mary, as most eligible for a husband, was her cousin, Henry Stuart, styled Lord Darnley, eldest son of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, who was exiled from Scotland during the regency of Arran, and of Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter of Margaret of England by the Earl of Angus. This young nobleman was in person extremely pre-

possessing; his age was rather less than the Queen's; but the grand policy of the match lay in his being the representative of a branch of the English royal family, which, from the terms of Henry the Eighth's will (by which the Scottish line was excluded), might have proved a serious rival to Mary in her pretensions to that crown. The union of the two chief pretenders to her throne, with every prospect of a numerous issue, alarmed Elizabeth in a great degree, and she made many efforts to prevent it. Among other expedients, she imprisoned Darnley's mother in England. All her arts, however, were unavailing. Mary and Darnley were married on the 29th of July, 1565.

An entirely new turn was given by this incident to Mary's It is a common belief, that the match was a result of passion on the part of the Queen. The whole affair was, on the contrary, one of the merest matches of policy that could have been formed. It is not likely, from her long widowhood at such an early age, that Mary would have married at all but from the view of strengthening her political position against Elizabeth; certainly, when she had the offer of so many continental princes, she would not have married a man of Darnley's rank and intellect, unless on the score of pedigree. Whether she entertained any passion for him or not, is doubtful; probably, one of the causes of their subsequent unhappiness was the very absence of that affection which some historians have represented as drawing the Queen into an act of imprudence. It is impossible that, in the course of a six-months' acquaintance, for so long did the courtship last, Mary should not have observed the inferior character of Darnley; she must have, on the contrary, been aware of it, and nevertheless resolved to put up with it, for the sake of accomplishing an important state object.

The match was immediately productive of the utmost uneasiness to Queen Mary. Her brother James, now created Earl of Murray, saw, in Darnley's accession to power, the interruption of his own ambitious course. In conjunction with other lords, and secretly encouraged by Elizabeth, he raised an insurrection against her, within three weeks of her marriage. Mary immediately collected a considerable army among the well-affected part of her subjects, and marched against the rebels in person. In

was Murray's pretence on this occasion, that the reformed religion was endangered by the Queen's marriage. So it was, in a remote degree; but the power of Elizabeth, and the private fortunes of Murray, were more immediately placed in peril. Such appears to have been the prevailing belief, for the enterprise found hardly any encouragement among the people. The Queen, at the head of a large army, chased the slender bands of her brother from one side of the kingdom to the other, and soon obliged him and his associates to take refuge in England.

Had Darnley, who accompanied her in this military enterprise, been a man of ordinary sense, he might have improved such a discomfiture of his enemies into something which would have fixed him permanently at the head of Scottish affairs. Nothing was wanting on the Queen's part to afford him opportunity for doing so; but what will compensate the want of common prudence? Mary, unable to trust weighty affairs to so empty a head, was compelled to employ other ministers.

It was now that the well-known David Rizzio came into prominent view. This was a Piedmontese musician, whom Mary had at first engaged as a bass performer in her private band, but afterwards, from a perception of his abilities and faithful character, raised to the condition of her French secretary. It would appear that, after her marriage had deprived her of the services of Murray and other native counsellors, she found it convenient to entrust a great deal of state business to this expert foreigner. who, as may be easily conceived, was apt to be a much more docile minister, laying abilities out of the question, than either her husband or any of the nobility who had not joined in the late rebellion. The arrangement, however, was unfortunate. It was disagreeable to the people to see honour bestowed upon a low-born foreign adventurer of the Catholic religion, while many of the Protestant nobility, the same who had rescued the country from papistical domination a few years ago, were banished. Darnley, who, without the least ability to make use of power. was vet most anxious to acquire it, conceived mortal offence against an upstart, who, as he thought, stood perpetually between him and his wishes, and enjoyed that confidence of the Queen which he desired to be bestowed upon himself. Those also of the Protestant nobility, who still remained in office, were anxious for the destruction of Rizzio, from a notion that he was the chief means of keeping their friends in banishment. By a strange confluence of circumstances, the death of this obscure Italian became necessary to secure the Protestant ascendancy in Scotland, endangered by the consequences of Murray's rebellion, and to throw open the usual prospects of ambition to a set of rude-spirited nobles.

There was an old custom in Scotland, of which the famous religious covenants were an imitation, to enter into what were called "bands of manrent," by which a body of nobles and gentlemen engaged to each other to follow some common political or local object, in opposition to all who might gainsay it, even against the royal authority itself. Various documents of this kind yet exist in the charter-chests of the Scottish nobles, signed by the blood of the parties, and invoking all the curses of Holy Writ, with many more besides, upon the individual who should act unfaithfully. For the purpose of destroying Rizzio, Darnley entered into a bond with those very noblemen whom he had lately assisted in chasing into England. It was stipulated, on his part, that he should exert himself to prevent any forfeiture from being led against them in the ensuing parliament; on theirs, that they should use their utmost power, at whatever risk, to procure for him the joint sovereignty of the state with Mary, and the right of succeeding to her. To carry their common object into effect. such of the Protestant nobility as were still at court associated themselves with Darnley; among the rest, the Earl of Morton, Chancellor of the Kingdom, and that Lord Ruthven, who had acted so striking a part as Provost of Perth under the late Queen Regent. From Darnley's connection with the Douglasses, through his mother, he had the assistance of a great number of that ancient family, which, it may be remarked, had become distinguished for its general adherence to the Reformation.

On the evening of the 9th of March, 1566, Mary, then advanced to the sixth month of pregnancy, was sitting unsuspiciously at supper in a small closet near her bed-room, with Rizzio and two or three other persons by her side, when suddenly

her husband and Lord Ruthven entered the apartment. Mary, surprised at the intrusion, enquired what was meant by it: to which Ruthven replied, that all they wished was to take that villain (meaning Rizzio) from her presence. The unfortunate Italian at once saw what was designed, and clung to the garments of his royal mistress, imploring her to save his life, and at the same time making a miserable effort at defence by drawing his dagger. A great number of the conspirators had now entered the adjoining bed-chamber, and some were pushing into the little closet, to lend their assistance to Darnley and Ruthven. One of these, Andrew Ker, of Fawdonside, had the audacity to present a cocked pistol against the Queen's breast, to induce her to shake off Rizzio. Another, George Douglas, a natural son of the Earl of Angus, and therefore uncle to Darnley, bent back the fingers of the unhappy victim, as they clung desperately to the Queen's waist, so as to make him relax his hold. Mary herself afterwards stated, that she felt the chill of several weapons touch her person; and all this when she was in that delicate condition. which is supposed to call for a husband's utmost care and attention. The scene, however, was briefly passed. Rizzio, dragged from her presence, in spite of all her efforts to save him, was hurried through her bed-room into the adjoining presence-chamber, at the door of which he was slain by the crowd of meaner conspirators. who there stood guard. His body was afterwards found to have received no fewer than fifty-six wounds, it being demanded by those who despatched him, that every other person should give a stab to the insensible body, so as to involve them as deeply in the consequences of the crime as themselves. The first wound had been given, it is believed, in Mary's presence, by George Douglas. and with Darnley's dagger; which weapon was found next day still sticking in the body. This was to prove to the world, that the deed was committed under sanction of the Queen's husband, if not by his own hand.

The Queen was not made aware till next day that her secretary was actually killed: but her indignation at so violent a scene was nevertheless very great. She taxed her husband with ingratitude for the favours she had bestowed upon him, and asked what she had done to provoke such an outrage. He could only answer, in

his blunt childish manner, that he suspected Rizzio, besides distracting her personal attention from him, to have counselled her against allowing him that equality in the government which rightfully belonged to him as her husband. To Ruthven, who had returned to her supper-room after the tragedy was over, and solaced his thirst with a cup of wine from her table, she spoke in much sharper terms. "Sir," said she, "my child will avenge this night upon you, if I can get no other person to do it." It is curious, that this exclamation was in a manner fulfilled by the deaths of the two Earls of Gowry, son and grandson of Ruthven, and by the proscription with which King James saw fit to visit the whole name nearly forty years after.

All this time the palace was beset by the retainers of the conspirators, and Mary was in reality a prisoner. Without a body-guard, and completely taken by surprise, she was but a frail woman in the midst of hundreds of armed men. The inhabitants of Edinburgh made a show of appearing in her behalf; but Darnley, whom they had no reason to disbelieve, told them, from a window in the palace, that the Queen was under his protection, and quite at her ease. Two nobles, unengaged in the conspiracy (the Earls of Athol and Bothwell) were in the palace at the time of the assassination; but, wanting their retainers, they only formed an addition of two men to her frightened train of servingwomen and lacqueys, and were glad to take the first opportunity of making their escape. The Queen might next day be considered as fairly rendered into the hands of her enemies, when the rebel nobles, with Murray at their head, alighted at the gates of Holyrood-house, and Darnley, in terms of their treaty, exercised his first act of independent sovereignty, by issuing a proclamation to prevent the meeting of that parliament, in which his new friends were to have been forfaulted.

The nobles who had formed this compact with Darnley were so well aware of his weak and fickle character, that they had thought it necessary to take many precautions, lest his wife by blandishments should win him back to her interests, and leave them to bear the whole blame of the murder. Even on the day after the incident, when Mary, as might be expected, was confined to her bed with illness, they took pains to prevent a recon-

ciliation, scarcely trusting him a moment in her presence, without a sufficient number of their own body to overlook the interview. It really was not without cause that they distrusted the resolution of their associate. Having permitted him that evening to retire to her chamber, in the hope of prevailing upon her to grant them all a free pardon, she actually did persuade her husband to give up their cause, and take her away from the palace to a place of safety. The Protestant nobles were surprised next day to learn, that instead of being, as they expected, the ministers of a government under Darnley, they were deserted by him and denounced as rebels by his consort, who was now in East Lothian collecting an army for their destruction.

There was now a complete change of figures at the Scottish court. Murray, and the other rebels of the past year, threw themselves upon Mary's mercy, and were pardoned; while Morton, Ruthven, and other rebels of the last week, retired to England. The only man who remained where he had been was Darnley. A few days had seen the royal favour completely shifted from one set of statesmen to another.

No other incident of note occurred between this period and the confinement of the Queen, which took place in Edinburgh Castle on the 19th of June. Her child, to the great joy of her subjects, and the equal mortification of Queen Elizabeth, was a son.

CHAPTER XII.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY CONCLUDED.

UNDER ordinary circumstances, Mary would have now been in a more prosperous and hopeful condition than before, the object of her marriage being accomplished in the possession of a child, who, from his accumulated rights to the throne of England, might have been expected to give her great influence in that country, besides a more certain power over her own.

however, was dashed by the wretched conduct of her husband. Her married life was a continued series of unavailing efforts to improve this hopeless character, and make him preserve decent appearances before the public. At the time of her confinement, a temporary calm took place, but it soon gave way to renewed uneasiness. When her infant was baptized in December, the mean-spirited father thought it a good way of shewing his spite at the Queen to keep away from the ceremony, so as to affront her before all the foreign friends and ambassadors who had come to attend it.

About this time some of the ambitious nobles who flourished at court, proposed to Mary a divorce, as an easy and simple expedient for restoring her peace of mind: while it was at the same time a means of removing an odious rival out of their way. The Queen, however, from a principle of delicacy on account of her son, would not consent to the proposal.

About this period the Earl of Bothwell, who has scarcely before been mentioned, came prominently forward at court as a friend of the Queen. He was a young nobleman of bold profligate manners, possessed of great power in Haddingtonshire, and who had, previously to the Queen's marriage, made one or two attempts to supplant Murray in her Majesty's favour, but always without success. Now that Murray was little trusted by the Queen, Bothwell found the court a better scene for his ambition. He seems to have been one of those persons who are not ambitious from talent, or any of the more generous impulses, but merely from an irregular grasping disposition. The Queen had lately found it necessary to admit him and a few other nobles into her councils, as a means of counterbalancing the Murray faction on its return to the country.

It occurred to the mind of this man, that if Darnley could be removed, so as to leave the Queen a free woman, he might at once raise himself to the supreme direction of affairs by marrying her. There were many obstacles in the way of this scheme; among which, not the least was his own marriage some months before to a sister of the Earl of Huntly. That, however, was soon removed; the Huntly family, who were privy to his designs, consenting to run a divorce against him on the plea of his well-

known infidelities. He consulted Morton, lately an exile in England, and procured his consent to become an accessory, on the sole condition that a deed should be obtained from Queen Mary sanctioning the transaction: this deed he said he could and would bring, but he never brought it. Maitland, the secretary, and even the Earl of Murray himself, to whom he had latterly been somewhat reconciled, were also made privy to the design, though there is no evidence that they took an active share in its execution. The general feeling of these unprincipled courtiers seems to have been, that it was for their interest in the meantime to permit Bothwell to destroy Darnley, and that they could scarcely fail to fish up advantages to themselves out of the troubled waters which should ensue. It gives a striking view of the state of society at this time, to find noblemen, and those too the very persons who had effected the Reformation, entering first into a conspiracy for the murder of a humble foreigner, who chanced to thwart their selfish political views, and then consenting to stand by and see one of their associates assassinate their sovereign, who was obnoxious to them only on the same account. The atrocious guilt which Bothwell proposed to himself, we can easily account for, by a consideration of his unenlightened and profligate character; but it is more difficult to comprehend how men of the sagacious sense and liberal politics of Murray and Maitland arrived at the degree of moral obliquity implied by their equally base conduct.

After the baptism of the young prince in December, Darnley went to visit his father at Glasgow, where he soon after was seized with the small-pox, a disease raging in the city at the time. Though Mary had every reason, except that of external decorum, for disregarding her husband, she nevertheless hastened to Glasgow to see him, and there administered, at the risk of her own life, all the comforts which a husband could expect from a wife under such circumstances. When he was so far convalescent as to permit of his removal to Edinburgh, she caused him to be carried thither in the most careful manner, so that she might at once attend her duties at the seat of government, and watch occasionally over his sick-bed. He was not lodged at the palace, which lies in a low damp situation, but in a house to the

south of the city, where the air was purer and more healthful. This mansion stood within the precincts of an ancient collegiate church, called the Kirk of Field, the provost of which had lived in it before the Reformation; and the only houses near it were a few belonging to the same establishment, which afterwards were used as the College of Edinburgh.

Till the evening of the 9th of February (1567), Mary visited her husband here very frequently, sometimes spending the night in one of the apartments, but more generally reposing at the palace. On that night she had visited him in company with some friends. While the royal party was still in the house, Bothwell, whose plans were by this time matured, caused a heap of gunpowder to be deposited by his servants in the apartment below that in which Darnley lay. About midnight, several hours after the Queen and her friends had left the house and gone to Holvrood, fire was set to the powder by means of a match, and in an instant the unfortunate King was blown into the air, along with his servant, and the house reduced to a heap of ruins. The explosion was so loud as to alarm the whole town, and some of the inhabitants proceeding to the spot, found the bodies lying at a little distance without the city wall. Mary is found next day expressing her horror at the event, in a letter addressed to her ambassador at the French court.

The instruments employed by Bothwell in the murder having been few, and, it appears, faithful, the world was at first unable to comprehend how it had taken place, or who were its authors. Mary, to all appearance equally ignorant, seemed only able to offer a reward for the discovery of the murderers. After this offer was published, anonymous placards appeared upon the walls of the city, mentioning the Earl of Bothwell as the chief of the guilty individuals, and affirming the Queen herself to have been an accessory, but professing that the writer could make no public appearance as an accuser without assurance against danger. The Earl of Lennox, hearing of these announcements, wrote to the Queen, urging her to seize Bothwell and subject him to a trial; which, after some further correspondence, she consented to do, and the 12th of April was appointed as the day when it should take place. At the appointed time, Bothwell appeared at the

justiciary tribunal with about a thousand armed friends and retainers to overawe the court; and, as no prosecutor or witness appeared, he was pronounced by the assize to be not guilty. He afterwards issued a challenge, proposing to fight any man in single combat who should affirm that he was the murderer of Lord Darnley; and no one appeared to accept it.

The consequence of all this was, that Bothwell rose to greater power and importance than before, and began to take a decidedly leading part at the Scottish court. For ten or twelve days after his trial, he appears to have retained his whole vassalage around him in Edinburgh, the professed reason for doing so being his attendance at Parliament, while, in reality, he was contemplating a second grand point in his scheme of villany. On the 21st of the month he either procured or compelled, from a considerable part of the nobility then in town, a bond recommending him to Queen Mary for a husband, and obliging themselves to assist him in obtaining that honour. Armed with this document, and attended by a cohort of willing followers, he seized the person of the Queen, April 24, as she was returning with a small train from Stirling, and forcibly carried her off to his castle of Dunbar.

Mary's misfortunes here took their first real commencement, in the violation of her honour by the murderer of her husband. To all appearance, she was the victim of a monstrous outrage, perpetrated by a man of gross character, whom circumstances had given an influence over her fate. According to the view taken by her enemies, the whole was an arranged scheme between herself and Bothwell, to justify the new alliance which she was about to form. It must be admitted that there is nothing like sufficient evidence to make good this imputation. It has always been, to a large extent, a party view of her case, and the tendency of the candid enquiries of modern times has been to diminish its force, as well as to relieve her of the more odious charge of having been privy to her husband's death.

As Bothwell was still a married man, it was impossible that his union with the Queen could take place immediately. In a few days, however, he conducted her under a strong guard to Edinburgh, where a divorce was speedily effected, and every other

preparation made for the ill-omened nuptials. On the 15th of May—a month during which the Scottish people consider it unlucky to marry—those nuptials took place.

The course of events now becomes exceedingly rapid. No attempt, popular or otherwise, had been made to rescue Mary from the hands of Bothwell. Men had stood at gaze upon the astounding fact of the abduction, unable to decide in their own minds whether it was a real act of violence and treason on Bothwell's part, or the result of a collusive scheme. When they now saw Mary profess, in public documents, to pass it over as a rough mode of courtship, and follow it up by a regular marriagewhen they recalled, moreover, the strong suspicions under which Bothwell lay of having murdered her late husband—they seem to have at once made up their minds as to the criminality of both. A very few days after the marriage, Bothwell began to form intrigues for obtaining possession of the young Prince, who had been placed in the hands of the Earl of Mar at Stirling Castle. Certain noblemen, learning his designs, assembled at Stirling to concert measures for the child's protection, and consider the present aspect of affairs. This association, notwithstanding that it comprised many of the noblemen who had acquitted the Earl at his trial, and afterwards signed the bond recommending him to the Queen, became convinced, seemingly from the appearance of a general design, and that of the most flagitious nature, which they now began to perceive in his proceedings, that it was necessary to oppose him by force. At their head was Morton, who had returned from his banishment at the time of Darnley's murder, and entered, more or less actively, into Bothwell's plans. It is to be supposed that he and one or two others were only influenced in their pretended zeal for the young Prince, by some prospect of deposing the Queen and setting up her son, in whose name they themselves might rule. Murray might have been expected to take a leading hand in such a project; but he had retired to the continent soon after Darnley's murder, intending, as has been alleged, to wait till Bothwell should have filled up the full measure of his crimes, and till Mary should have reached the brink of ruin, so as to step in and profit as he might by the crisis.

It was at the end of May that the association met: on the 7th of June Bothwell learned that, from the influence they had used in the capital, it was become an unsafe place of residence for him and the Queen. He retired to Borthwick Castle, a strong tower in the south of Mid Lothian, where the apartment occupied by him and Mary is still shown. Here, by a sudden march of the associators, who had already drawn together their retainers, the strangely assorted pair were nearly surprised. Escaping almost alone to Dunbar, Bothwell's principal stronghold, they there raised a little army out of his vassals and friends, with which they immediately returned to face the troops of the insurgents.

The two armies met at Carberry Hill, near Musselburgh, on the 15th of June, and lay for some time on their arms, while various attempts were made by men of moderate feeling to accommodate the existing differences. Late in the evening a convention was agreed upon, by virtue of which Mary gave herself up to the confederated lords, and was conducted by them singly to Edinburgh, Bothwell retiring, at her persuasion, to his own castle, while the army dispersed. As Mary entered the city, she was greeted with many marks of popular disrespect, which informed her that she was very generally suspected of a participation in her husband's guilt. The lords placed her for the night in the house of the Provost, her palace having been already stripped of much of its furniture by a mob.

It was expressly the agreement of the Confederated Lords on this occasion, that Mary should continue in possession of the royal authority. Her understanding of the whole affair was, simply, that it was a change of administration, the Confederated Lords coming in place of Bothwell. This, it now appeared, had only been a pretext for inducing her to give up her army. Now that she was in their power, they revived the design of which Rizzio's death was the abortive commencement, and resolved upon putting her into close confinement for life, and proclaiming her son James as King of Scots in her place. The first part of this resolution they immediately carried into effect. On the night of the 16th, after she had been scarcely a day in their hands, they hurried her, almost unattended, out of her lodgings.

and conducted her under a strong guard to Lochleven Castle, a strong baronial tower, situated in the middle of a lake about twenty miles from Edinburgh.

The confederates now proceeded to constitute themselves as a Secret Council, and, as such, to assert their authority over the country, though, in reality, they were nothing but a certain number of earls and barons. Their first act of moment was to extort from Mary three deeds, one abdicating the crown. a second transferring it to her child, and a third appointing the Earl of Murray as regent. Armed with these, they crowned the infant at Stirling on the 29th of July, when little more than thirteen months old; and early in August, the Earl of Murray arrived from France to assume the regency.

The subsequent adventures of Bothwell may here be noticed. After retiring from Carberry, an almost solitary fugitive, he took refuge for a few days in his castle at Dunbar. Then entering on ship-board, he proceeded to the province of Moray, to try what might be done towards the retrieving of his affairs by the assistance of his brother-in-law Huntly, and his uncle the Bishon of Moray. Finding no great encouragement in that quarter, and learning that an armament was fitted out against him by the Confederates, he sailed to Orkney, of which place he had been made duke by Queen Mary before their marriage. Chased hence by the ships sent against him, he wandered into the Northern Ocean, where he was obliged, for support, to commit piracy on two merchant vessels belonging to Denmark. On his afterwards debarking in that country, where he thought he might get some countenance as the husband of the Queen of Scots. who was a kinswoman of the King, he was seized as a pirate, and thrown into prison. He was retained there for ten years, at the request of the English and Scottish governments, till at length the solitude and squalor of his dungeon produced despair. madness, and death. In a formal declaration, which he had emitted before this period, he fully acquitted Queen Mary of any share in his guilt.

CHAPTER XIII.

MINORITY OF JAMES VI.

PREHAPS the Scottish people were now fitted, for the only time between the Reformation and the Revolution, with a government entirely to their mind. Catholicism had gone down root and branch with Queen Mary, and the Protestant religion risen to infallible security with Murray, the hero of the Reformation. To add to the joy which such a state of things was calculated to excite, Queen Elizabeth afforded to Murray's government her entire countenance, her only demand in return being, that Murray should consider himself rather as a regent for her, than for his nephew King James VI.

Yet there were dissentients to the new arrangements, and those of no inconsiderable importance. In the North, the Earl of Huntly still espoused the interests of Mary and Bothwell; in the South, the Hamiltons were at the head of a numerous list of families who adhered to Mary alone. And, as a few months gave the world time to forget their suspicions of the Queen's guilt, and to reflect on her misfortunes, this party waxed more and more numerous.

Mary spent the whole winter in the islet fortress to which she had been condemned; but as spring advanced, she began to have hopes of making her escape, and putting herself at the head of her party. Nothing could equal the fidelity of her gaolers to their charge: for Sir Robert Douglas was the cousin of Morton, while his wife was the mother of Murray. There was, however, a young relative of the family, one George Douglas, who, devoting himself to the service of the Queen, and watching an opportunity of stealing the keys of the Castle, at length succeeded on the 2nd of May in allowing her to escape. She was immediately conducted to Hamilton, and placed in the midst of her partizans. At the same time, intelligence being dispatched to Huntly, that nobleman lost no time in moving down from the Highlands with an immense band to aid her.

The Regent, who chanced to be at Glasgow, was taken by surprise; yet, by great exertions, he succeeded in a few days in raising a considerable force, with which he resolved to face the enemy.

The two parties, met on the 11th of May, at Langside, near Glasgow; and it was Mary's fortune to lose the day. In a state of extreme distress, she quitted the field where she had seen hundreds of her best friends perish for her sake, and, flying along the most desert parts of Ayrshire and Galloway, scarcely slackened bridle till she reached the lonely abbey of Dundrennan, on the coast of the Solway Firth, where no choice remained for her but either to remain and be taken by her rebellious subjects, or to sail across to England and ask protection from Queen Elizabeth. Mary calculated, in her terror for her own subjects, that Elizabeth could not be worse; it was a mistake. Elizabeth, though with many coquettish hesitations and excuses, and though there was no law or custom to sanction such a proceeding, condemned Mary to strict imprisonment.

A most extraordinary scene now took place. Elizabeth, resolved to degrade Mary by all possible means, called up a deputation of the Scots to England, to prefer a public accusation against her as the murderer of her husband; and the Scottish Queen, though at first she refused to submit to the indignity of being tried, as it were, before an equal, at length was induced to appoint commissioners to meet those from Scotland, and answer to the calumnious charges. This strange convention took place at York, November, 1568. The accusers, at the head of whom was Murray, could offer no proof of their allegations, except the copies of a few letters which they alleged to have been sent by Mary to Bothwell, and which contained expressions of amatory passion towards him, of date antecedent to the death of her husband. Elizabeth was obliged to confess that there was no evidence against her cousin, though she still retained her in confinement.

When Murray returned from this excursion, he found the nation on the point of breaking out into a civil war. Mary's friends had now recovered from the blow they had received at Langside, and were disposed to take up arms once more in her

behalf. In concert with them was the Duke of Norfolk in England, who had formed a scheme of marrying her, and then placing her at the head of a Catholic rebellion against Elizabeth. While Murray was concerting measures with the English Queen for meeting this conspiracy, he was assassinated at Linlithgow, (January 23, 1570,) by David Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, a gentleman of the Queen's faction, who conceived himself to have private as well as public wrongs to be avenged in this manner.

This Hamilton, in company with the rest of his clan, had appeared in behalf of Mary at Langside, where he was taken prisoner. Being then condemned to death as a traitor to the new government, he was pardoned at the command of Murray, who, nevertheless, confiscated his estates, and gave them to some of his own adherents. The person on whom the Regent conferred that of Woodhouselee was so precipitate in his measures for procuring possession, as to turn out Hamilton's wife into the fields, notwithstanding that the snow was lying deep on the ground, and the lady had just recovered from a confinement. The consequence was, that she became furiously mad. A wrong of this nature to a proud Scottish gentleman was such as only blood could avenge. Hamilton therefore became the tool of his clan, in a scheme for destroying their grand public enemy.

The plan concerted was, that Bothwellhaugh (for so he was commonly called from his paternal estate) should plant himself in a house belonging to his kinsman, the Archbishop of Hamilton, at Linlithgow, and there awaiting the Regent, as he should pass through the town on a journey from Stirling to Edinburgh, shoot him with a harquebuss from one of the windows. It may convey some notion of the spirit of the times, that this high prelate should have willingly lent himself and his house to such a purpose. Everything fell out exactly as had been anticipated. Murray was informed on the fatal morning that some such design was entertained against him; but he judged it inexpedient to show fear, and entertained hopes of evading the shot by riding quickly through the town. Unfortunately for him, the street became filled with people, who retarded his motions. Bothwellhaugh, who had previously stationed himself in a gallery running along the second story of the house, and which was hung with

curtains on purpose to conceal him, fired his harquebuss with such sure effect, that the bullet, after piercing the Regent through the lower part of the body, struck and killed the horse of a gentleman riding at his farther side. The unfortunate man fell into the arms of his attendants. Attention being immediately directed to the house from which the blow had proceeded. it was at once recognised as that of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. A cry was raised for revenge, and hundreds, finding the door barricaded, attempted to break through the neighbouring lanes, which had all been carefully stuffed up with furze and thorns. In the meantime, Bothwellhaugh mounted a swift horse. which he kept ready saddled and bridled at the back-door, and rode off at full speed towards Clydesdale. A number of the Regent's friends followed him as hard as they could, and at one place had nearly overtaken him; but he saved himself by stabbing his horse with his dagger, which caused the animal, previously exhausted, to leap a broad ditch or morass, whereby he was placed beyond the reach of his pursuers.

It is related of this assassin that, finding it afterwards necessary, in the general proscription of his family, to go to France, he was there requested by the Catholic party to become the murderer of Admiral Coligny, who was afterwards sacrificed at the Bartholomew massacre. But Bothwellhaugh was no common dealer in blood; in the death of Murray he had only vindicated what were then considered in his country the most sacred principles—attachment to clan interest, and revenge for personal injury. It is added, that he challenged the individual who proposed this new murder to him, as one who had, by so doing, placed him in the light of a mere bravo. The harquebuss with which he shot the Regent appears to have been preserved by his family as a sacred relic; for it is still in existence at the palace of the Duke of Hamilton.

Murray having died on the same night, his party assembled immediately after, and, while they decreed the most honourable obsequies to the deceased, chose a new Regent in the person of the Earl of Lennox; a nobleman of weak character, but respectable as the grandfather of the young King, while, in political and religious principles, he was all that could be desired. Under him

the civil war broke out with great fury, notwithstanding that Elizabeth continued her protection to the Protestant interest in Scotland, and even sent three small flying armies into the country to lay waste the lands of Queen Mary's friends, and revenge the death of Murray. It affords a presumption in favour of Mary, that two of her former enemies, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Maitland of Lethington, one of them the best soldier, the other the acutest statesman of the age, now came over to her side. They had their head-quarters at Edinburgh, while the Regent established himself at Stirling.

A cruel and destructive species of warfare now commenced between the two national factions, who, under the titles of King's men and Queen's men, respectively adhered to the councils established in the above cities. This war chiefly took the form of sallies. or forays, upon the lands of the opposing parties, and was, upon the whole, congenial to the spirit and habits of the nation. The old system of holding parliaments and driving through party measures, was also resorted to. The Queen's friends held one in the regular place at Edinburgh, while the Regent assembled another in the Parliament Hall of James III. at Stirling; at one particular crisis, one was held within the walls of the city, while another met in the suburb called the Canongate, where the King's men were for the time carrying on their military operations. Attainders were then discharged by each against the other, almost as regularly as the mutual firing of ordnance, which was going on in their respective neighbourhoods. An old historian, describing the military habits which all men contracted under such circumstances, says, that "jacks, knapscaps,* plait-sleeves, and pistols, now were ordinary apparel to the most part, as heretofore were doublets and breeches." Even children in the streets would fight with long knives, for words to which they were incapable of applying ideas. One circumstance happened to give an additional shade of ferocity to the contest. The King's faction, having the good fortune to surprise Dumbarton Castle, took prisoner that Archbishop of St. Andrews who had been so unhappily distinguished in the assassination of Murray, and, though no specific crime could be attached to him, he was, without trial or ceremony

^{*} Helmets.

of any kind, hanged at Stirling. It then came to be a practice for each party to execute its prisoners instanteously, as traitors. No character or order of men was respected.

Lennox himself at length fell a victim to this horrid system. Being surprised in a state of security at Stirling, September, 1571, he and many of his best friends were seized in their houses, and brought out and mounted behind the troopers of the enemy. Every preparation was made by the assailants for at once putting an end to the war, by cropping, as it were, the very flower of the King's party, when they were counter-surprised by a sally from Stirling Castle, and obliged to decamp with their enterprise only half accomplished. As they galloped out of the town in a disorderly condition, the captives scarcely certain whether to consider themselves in that light or as captors, a man of the name of Calder shot the Regent in cold blood, as one last desperate blow at his party. He died on the same night.

The Earl of Mar was now chosen Regent, a nobleman much respected, not only by his own party, but by the opposite faction also, on account of his great prudence and moderation, though certainly not qualified, any more than Lennox, to restore peace to his bleeding country. The contest slackened but very little during the brief government of Mar; quite broken-hearted, at length, with national miseries which he saw he could not prevent, this good man died, October, 1572, and was succeeded by the Earl of Morton.

It was now for the first time since the death of Murray, that the reins of government were held by a firm hand. Morton, with all the vices and faults which can make a man loathsome to his fellow-creatures, possessed exactly that kind of sagacity and force of character, which was fitted to manage a country under such peculiar circumstances. He, in the first place, succeeded in recommending himself to Elizabeth, as one who was inclined to govern Scotland with a regard to her interests. He then exerted himself to dissever the two main component parts of the opposing faction, which bore the names of the Castle and Country party, from one being in possession of Edinburgh Castle, and the other roaming at large through the provinces. Kirkaldy of Grange, chief of the former, to whom he first made overtures, refused like

an honourable soldier, to listen to any proposal of capitulation which did not embrace all his friends; but the Hamiltons, and other members of the Country party, expressed no such scruples in favour of their associates in the Castle. No sooner had he procured their submission than he proceeded to besiege the Castle, which, with the assistance of a party of English, he took in thirty-four days. He immediately hanged Kirkaldy of Grange, a man whose military prowess had been such as to cause the people to look upon him as "another Wallace;" and it is believed that Maitland of Lethington only escaped the same fate by taking poison. After this triumph, Morton enriched his exchequer with an immense harvest of fines and forfeitures, from which the Country party were not exempted; and henceforth the partizans of Queen Mary are no more found in a collective capacity in our annals.

It is a circumstance worthy of remark, that of all the personages who figured in Scottish history at the commencement of the troubles with the marriage of Mary and Darnley, seven years before. Morton was the only individual who had not come to some miserable fate. Mary herself was now undergoing an imprisonment destined to be perpetual; Darnley, Rizzio, Murray, and Lennox, were murdered; Maitland of Lethington had killed himself in despair; the Earl of Mar died of a broken heart; Kirkaldy of Grange and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, were publicly executed by their respective enemies; Bothwell was pining or raving in a solitary dungeon in a foreign land; the Hamilton family, formerly the most powerful in Scotland, was ruined and exiled; of the whole only Morton existed, a colossal villain towering above the ruins of the rest, like a pillar which has been planted on the place once occupied by a flourishing city, to relate the tale of crime for which it was destroyed. Morton also, though spared for the present, was himself in proper time to be subjected to a violent death, as if Providence had seen fit to avenge, by the common destruction of innocent and guilty, one of the most shameful conspiracies which disgraces the history of the

This flagitious noble continued much longer in power than any of the three former Regents. He filled his exalted station for

about five years, partly upheld by the secret aid of Elizabeth, and partly supported by the Protestant part of his subjects, who, though groaning under his tyranny and avarice, submitted gladly to every temporal inconvenience, for the sake of ensuring the spiritual advantages they prized so much. Peace was maintained without interruption during the whole of this period.

In the meantime the young King was pressing onwards to manhood, under the watchful care of Annapel, the widow of the late Earl of Mar, who superintended all his personal comforts, while George Buchanan, the celebrated scholar, managed his education. Already the nation was cheered with good reports regarding the faculties of their future monarch. It was said that, though unfortunately weak in body and somewhat deformed, he displayed a capacity for learning and an acuteness of intellect calculated to raise the highest hopes regarding his abilities for government.

It is seldom that a minor king wants some one to persuade him that he is fit to sway the sceptre long before the period stipulated by law and custom. James was hardly twelve when he permitted himself to become the head of a conspiracy for wresting the supreme power out of Morton's hands. The chief agents in this attempt were two young men, Esme and James Stuart, who had been admitted to him as companions; but the power was supplied by two nobles of high influence, the Earls of Atholl and Argyle, who had good grounds for hating the Regent. The plot, from its being skilfully and cautiously executed, was attended with success, at least for a time. Morton was obliged to resign; and James assumed the government, March 1578, under the administration of Atholl and Argylle.

Morton, after this period, continued in greater or less power at the Scottish court till 1581, when his entire ruin was at length effected. The ex-Regent had, in his time of power, procured from the King a pardon for all political offences which it could be supposed he had ever committed; but in this deed of remission was not included his foreknowledge or accession to the murder of Lord Darnley. He was therefore accused by James Stuart, the King's favourite, of that crime. After trial, June 1, 1581, he

was condemned to suffer death. Next day his head was cut off by an instrument similar to the modern guillotine,* which he is said to have introduced into the country while Regent. He died confessing his having been made privy to the design of the murder by Bothwell, but excusing himself for not divulging it on the ground that he saw no means of doing so with safety.

This might be considered as a wonderful symptom of energy in the government of the young sovereign; for Morton was the guardian of the interests of Elizabeth in Scotland, had been the protector of the Protestant religion, and was possessed of much power as the acting chief of the house of Douglas. The truth is, he had rendered himself generally odious by personal vices, even to the clergy whom he patronised, while he was looked upon by the people as a monster who had become overgrown with their spoils. Elizabeth did think it necessary to make a show of hostility on the border, but without transgressing that line. So perished the last of the conspirators against Queen Mary.

An exertion of power such as this, was calculated to bring much additional strength to James's government; it cleared the field for a new set of friends, a new generation of politicians. The chief of these were the same young men who had assisted in procuring the downfall of Morton,—Esme Stuart, a cousin of the late Lord Darnley, and James Stuart, a second son of Lord Ochiltree, and also claiming a kindred to royalty through his ancestor the first Duke of Albany. The former, according to every respectable authority, was an amiable person, disqualified for his situation by nothing but his being of the Catholic religion; the other was a man of bolder character, but less personal worth. By attaching himself to these companions, James procured to himself the serious disapprobation of a large portion of his subjects. It was soon seen by the Protestant and liberal part of the nobles, that a government conducted chiefly by the two Stuarts was dangerous, as tending at once to despotism

^{*} This implement, which was afterwards employed to shed much noble blood during the great civil war, was styled the Maiden: it is preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh.

and the Catholic system of religion. A conspiracy was therefore formed, with the secret aid of Elizabeth, for getting the young King transferred into other hands. In August, 1582, while engaged on a hunting progress, he was arrested by the conspirators in Ruthven Castle. Trying to make his way out of the room, he was stopped roughly by Lord Glammis, who, seeing him burst into tears, only remarked, "Better that bairns should weep than bearded men." The two favourites were at the same time separately confined, and kept at a distance; and for awhile, as clergy and people generally approved of the deed, James remained an honourable prisoner, while his gaolers administered his affairs in his own name. As soon as he was secured, the Queen of England sent a hypocritical message of condolence, bewailing the very injury which she assisted in inflicting. Mary also heard in the retirement of her prison how her son was treated, and, knowing well the sorrows of a captive, sent a letter, in which she expressed the most earnest sympathy for his fate.

James was himself of so easy a disposition, that it is probable he might have soon been induced to withdraw his affections from his two former advisers, and place them upon the nobles who now kept him in restraint, if the latter had only taken equal pains to cultivate his personal tastes. To have procured James's esteem, it was only necessary to join in his sports, and avoid troubling him with too much business. This does not appear to have been done by the Ruthven conspirators; they had high ideas of his duties, and were inclined to make little allowance for his likes or dislikes. Much against his wishes, they banished his cousin, Esme Stuart, whom he had created Duke of Lennox, to France, where he soon after died. It was not to be thought that the young King should fall readily into the state maxims or habits inculcated by such masters: he took the first opportunity of escaping from their hands, and threw himself once more into the arms of James Stuart.

This favourite, previously created Earl of Arran, now resumed his former authority, in perhaps greater plenitude than ever, and was able, with little difficulty, to suppress an attempt of the Ruthven conspirators to stand their ground against him. With

the exception of the Earl of Gowrie, whom he seized and executed, they fled in dismay to England, accompanied by a number of the Protestant clergy. These events happened in 1583.

In 1584, when eighteen years of age, James published his first literary effort, entitled, "The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie, with the rewles and cautellis of the same;" a work consisting, as its title implies, of a certain number of his juvenile efforts in poetry, and the rules and cautions which are to be observed in that art. Artificial as they are in structure, the poems do no discredit to the genius of his family. One of them is a lament, in very touching language, for the hard fate of his friend the Duke of Lennox.

The truth is, James was far better fitted to be a student than a king; and one of his chief inducements for liking the administration of Arran, must have been simply for literary leisure which that personage allowed him to enjoy, as the price of his delegated power.

At the very time the King was engaged in the innocent employment of publishing his boyish verses, Arran was preparing a measure of the most desperate nature—no less than to make the King almost independent of all the other influences in the State. to repress the power of the clergy over the people, and attaint all the nobles who had lately distinguished themselves at what was called the Raid of Ruthven. Whatever was the personal character of the minister, it certainly says a great deal for his energy, and also proves a considerable degree of popularity, that he should have been able to carry through such a measure, at a time when the Scottish monarchy, never absolute nor powerful, was just reviving from a minority, during which it could scarcely be said to have existed. And not only did he carry through the measure, but he had the strength to act upon it for upwards of a twelvemonth, the liberal party being all the time exiled in England. During this period Elizabeth enjoyed no influence over Scotland; on the contrary, a plan was agitated by Arran for associating Mary with James in the government, than which nothing could have been more adverse to the interests of the

English Queen, as it would have given the Catholics a great advantage against her.

The attention of Elizabeth was soon awakened to the transactions of Scotland, and she dispatched her secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, to try what might be done towards the re-establishment of her influence. The English minister, on being introduced to James, was surprised to find, in a prince of nineteen, a power of conversation such as he might have admired in an aged statesman. To every argument he could present on political subjects, James was ready to make a plausible reply. In fact, on this occasion the Scottish monarch presented one of his fairest sides to observation, a knack of conducting a speculative conversation with great apparent ability, while he was utterly unfitted to carry his maxims into practice with consistent firmness and dignity. Walsingham did not prosper in his embassy, but soon after returned to England, apparently convinced, from the power of James's arguments, that it was in vain to make the attempt. Elizabeth was more successful with a less dignified envoy, of the name of Wotton, whom she sent to Scotland after Walsingham's return. This person contrived, by entering into James's sports, and flattering his tastes, to attain an object in which the mere straightforward wisdom of his predecessor had failed. By this means a good understanding was established to a certain extent with Arran himself, at least enough to lull that minister into security, while the Queen concerted measures with the exiled nobles to procure his downfall, and the restoration of a more moderate ministry.

The ruin of this proud favourite was in the end much accelerated by a circumstance in his personal history. He had conceived a violent passion for the Countess of March, who, notwithstanding that her husband was still alive, did not hesitate to return his affection; and, finally, by a scandalous bréach of the rules of society and every sacred law, the guilty pair accomplished a marriage. Such an outrage on public feeling looked like madness which foretels destruction. An incident one day occurred, which might almost be likened to the warning given to Casar before the ides of March. As the upstart earl one day

entered the court of justice which it was his custom to control, he happened to brush rudely past an aged man, of mean appearance, who stood in his way. That person immediately confronted him, and said, "Look at me, my lord—I am Oliver Sinclair!" It was the worn-out and indigent favourite of James V. Had a spectre risen from the grave to admonish the Earl of Arran of the mutability of fortune, it could scarcely have given the lesson with more striking effect.

Towards the conclusion of the year 1585, a plot for Arran's destruction was fully matured by Elizabeth and the exiled nobles, in concert with two or three Scottish courtiers, who had hitherto seemed to be in his lordship's interest, but were in reality his rivals. Assisted with money from the English Queen, the exiles appeared on the frontier, collected their vassalage from their respective estates, and, joined by a border chief,* who had been recently offended by Arran, advanced against the favourite: who. at the first intelligence, had thrown himself, with the King and court, into Stirling, which he attempted to defend. When the insurgents reached this town, they found themselves ten thousand strong, a force much greater than Arran was able to command at so short a warning; he, therefore, was obliged to give up all hope of retaining his place for the meantime, and seek safety in flight. Leaving the King in the castle, he abandoned the town to the assailants, locked the gates of Stirling bridge behind him, and, without a single attendant out of all who had lately done him homage, wandered into the northern parts of the kingdom. The Protestant nobles then procured admission to the King, and established themselves around him as a new ministry and council.

The ultimate fate of Arran formed a proper winding up to a life spent in such desperate political schemes. After ten years of hopeless obscurity, he thought he perceived a chance of regaining his lost offices, and suddenly re-appeared before King James at Holyrood-house. The monarch was then wiser than he had been, and engaged, moreover, in such relations as rendered it impossible for him to afford any countenance to his old favourite.

He recommended Arran to retire, at least, for the meantime, to his former haunts. The ex-minister complied, and was proceeding through the mountains between Clydesdale and Ayrshire, when some one warned him to beware of Douglas of Torthorwald, who had vowed to avenge upon him the death of his relation. the Earl of Morton. Arran gave a contemptuous answer to this admonition; which being reported to Douglas, then not far off, the ferocious baron immediately gave chase, and soon overtook the object of his wrath. The ill-starred favourite was immediately tumbled from his horse, and put to death. His head. then cut from his body, was mounted on a spear, and fixed on the walls of Torthorwald Castle. Nor, though the deed was thus openly vaunted of, did judicial authority ever attempt to visit it with any notice: it was one of those crimes with which a whole nation sympathises, and which national justice therefore fails to avenge. A nephew of the deceased afterwards gratified his own desire of vengeance by stabbing the Laird of Torthorwald in the High Street of Edinburgh, but was himself, at a subsequent period, killed in the same way, and on the same principle. by a kinsman of Douglas: so many stages were there sometimes in a Scottish feud.

CHAPTER XIV.

REIGN OF JAMES VI.

It was a matter of course, after Arran had been supplanted by a set of moderate and Protestant nobles, that the policy of the Scottish government should endure a radical change. The royal power, both as regarded civil and religious matters, was reduced to its former limits; the interests of Elizabeth were carefully attended to; and much encouragement was given to a party in the church, which advocated the republican system of ecclesiastical government, styled Presbytery. To James personally the change was of little moment; he had only been relieved from the thraldom of one man, to submit to that imposed by a considerable number.

It was while Scotland stood in this particular situation, that its expatriated and most unhappy Queen was destined to close an imprisonment of nineteen years by a violent death.

The reader has been already made aware of the remote causes of this catastrophe, namely, the pretensions which Mary herself made, or which a party made in her behalf, to the throne of Elizabeth. A time had now arrived when the sovereign and people of England were filled with the most serious apprehensions for the efforts of the Catholic party at home and abroad. Every now and then, accounts reached the country of a prodigious armament which Spain (then a powerful state) was fitting out for the purpose of invading England, and replacing the faith of Rome. Almost as frequently plots were detected among small parties of native Catholics, who, with the fanaticism of the age, had devoted themselves to the project of assassinating Elizabeth, and establishing Mary as her successor. The people, indeed, began to look upon the Scottish Queen as a person whose life was inconsistent with the general safety. It is true, she was only a pining and solitary captive, and but the object, not the instigator, of any of these conspiracies. It was also abundantly evident to the eye of justice, that, being a foreign and independent princess, living in England against her will, she could not be held amenable to English law, she could not be held amenable to English law, even if she did take measures for procuring her liberty, or otherwise advancing her interests. Such considerations, however, were allowed no place at that hurried and enthusiastic time. Her life was universally demanded as a sacrifice necessary to the peace of the nation.

While England was thus threatened by the Catholics, it was impossible for Scotland to stand unconcerned. The people of that country, after twenty-six years' experience of the Reformation, were, in reality, more zealously adverse to the Church of Rome than their southern neighbours. Knowing that, as their religion had been established at first through Elizabeth's assistance, so had it all along been maintained by the same means; they could not but see, in the prospect of a subversion of Pro-

testantism in England, a certainty of the same fate overtaking it in their own country. They therefore sympathised, to no small extent, in the views entertained in England regarding the captive Queen.

Under the influence of their common fears, the governments of the two countries entered (June, 1586) into a treaty of mutual assistance, by virtue of which the Scottish King bound himself to co-operate even against his mother in the event of any conspiracy being set on foot in her behalf; while the Queen of England, as a guerdon to assure the alliance of the Scots, granted him, on the other hand, a pension of five thousand pounds a-year. It is hardly necessary to explain, that King James only appeared nominally in this league, his Protestant administration being the real agents. His personal influence was too slight to be of any avail in favour of his mother, whatever his real feelings regarding her might be.

The expedient adopted by the English government for putting something like a show of order and law upon Mary's destruction, was to charge her with being accessory to one of those Catholic conspiracies which have just been mentioned. A young Englishman, named Anthony Babington, joined with a few more enthusiasts of the same description in a scheme for assassinating Elizabeth, and liberating Queen Mary. It is possible that he wrote letters to the captive Queen, requesting her co-operation in the design; by her own account, she received many such effusions, to which she never made any reply. There was no evidence to prove her having ever expressed assent in any way to the scheme, besides some pretended confessions which were brought forward after the criminals were executed, as having been made by them in prison.

The unfortunate Queen was tried, October 14, 1586, at Fotheringay Castle, but under a protest on her part, that she only submitted to such a process from a wish to clear her honour by examination. The solemn mockery was conducted by forty of the chief men in England, who acted under a commission from Queen Elizabeth. Throughout the whole scene, Mary preserved surprising presence of mind, replying to every charge and every insinuation made against her with the most

pointed argument, and a consistency which bespoke her innocence. By a flagrant breach of that very law upon which it was pretended to arraign her, no witnesses were brought forward in person. The evidence consisted solely of papers, which were called confessions of dead or arrested criminals but which may be clearly held as forged for the purpose. Thus Mary was condemned as guilty of treason against the Queen of England, a crime which she never did, and, properly speaking, never could commit.

Nearly four months elapsed before Elizabeth found it perfectly convenient to proceed upon this sentence. During that space the King of Scots made warm remonstrances, by means of ambassadors at the English court, against the act which seemed to be contemplated. But Elizabeth knew well how incapable he was of taking any measure of retaliation against her; and to the entreaties of the King of France, who also thought proper to petition in favour of his brother's widow, she turned an equally deaf ear.

Only one consideration could induce this strong-minded Princess to pause ere ordering the execution. She felt anxious to make it appear that she herself had no personal motives for the sacrifice, but that it was entirely made for the sake and at the pressing demand of her people. For this purpose, by a multitude of singular arts, she contrived to inflame the popular rage against the Catholics, and against Mary, till at last she seemed in a manner obliged to gratify the nation by giving way to its wishes. Even then she thought it necessary to take some precautions for the safety of her good name. Although forced, as she made it appear, to sign the sentence, she professed to place it in the hands of her council, only to be employed by them, at their discretion, in the event of a Spanish invasion or Catholic insurrection. It is also known by incontestible evidence that she used many artifices to induce some one to rid her of the Scottish Queen by means of poison, in which case it might have appeared that a natural death had anticipated the sentence.

The behaviour of Mary under these circumstances, was in striking contrast to that of her cruel kinswoman. The unhappy Queen had long lost all those personal charms, for which she

had been celebrated: her extraordinary misfortunes, confinement, and its attendant bad health, together with the influence of her religion, had reduced her mind to a degree of soberness and gravity very different from what it displayed in the days when life was young and hope in its prime. She now, regarded death rather as a blessing than an evil, for it promised her a passage from a labyrinth of miseries, which she never could otherwise hope to leave behind her. While her fate was in suspense, she prayed with sincerity and fervour for the happiness of Elizabeth, to whom, even after having given up all hope of life, she was able to write in a strain of almost sisterly affection. One of the last requests which Mary presented to the English Queen was, that she might not be cut off by a secret death, but be permitted to die deliberately, with the consolations of religion, and in presence of her attendants.

It was not till February, 1586-7, that Elizabeth at length determined upon striking the blow. The system of trickery was persevered in to the last. Her secretary, Davison, was made to understand that she now wished the warrant to be acted upon, but she gave him no express orders. He, possessing what he thought her virtual permission, laid the warrant before the privy council, by whom it was immediately sent off to the sheriff of the county in which Mary was confined, who, with the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, was empowered to see it put into execution. These nobles arrived at Fotheringay Castle, Mary's present prison, on the evening of the 7th of February, and informed her that she must prepare for the block on the ensuing morning.

Mary, who had long been prepared for the worst, received the intelligence with firmness, and spent the greater part of the night in arranging her affairs, and in exercises of devotion. At break of day, she rose and distributed presents among her attendants; after which she retired with them to her oratory, where she was compelled to bid them farewell. With a firm step and serene countenance, she walked towards the great hall, where a scaffold had been erected. On the way, she received the tender adieu of her aged master of the household, Robert Melville, whom she left bathed in tears. Then she entreated of the two nobles that her servants might be allowed to be present at her death; it was

refused: she said, vehemently, "Am I not cousin of your Queen, a descendant of the blood-royal of Henry VII., a married Queen of France, and anointed Queen of Scotland?" On which it was agreed that four men and two of the women should be introduced. She entered the hall and mounted the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, and, after the warrant had been read, addressed the spectators, reminding them that she, being a sovereign princess, not subject to the English parliament, was brought there to suffer only by injustice and violence. She thanked God, however, for such an opportunity of testifying to her religion. She declared that she had never even imagined harm to Elizabeth. She pardoned all her enemies, and would not say one word to their prejudice. She was then interrupted by the Dean of Peterborough and the Earl of Kent, who deemed this a not unfitting moment to attempt the turning of her heart away from the alleged errors of her religion. With unfailing dignity and serenity she endured their taunts. Then kneeling down, and laying her head upon the block, she repeatedly said with a firm voice, "Unto thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit;" and the executioner struck her head off at three blows. The greatest enemies of Marv, and those most disposed to hold her guilty of what had been laid to her charge, must admit that her behaviour at the last was worthy of all admiration.

The ambassadors of the King of Scots had returned from England on the day before the Queen was executed, bringing intelligence of their failure in procuring any promise from Elizabeth for his mother's safety, though without giving him to understand that her death was to be considered as resolved on. The King expressed his grief at the issue of his negotiations; yet it was in vain for him to think of preventing the catastrophe by means of force. Himself a Protestant sovereign, existing as such only by the permission of his subjects, unable to raise a single battalion which would have followed him across the borders on such an errand, threatened, even if he had, with an English army ready to oppose him under Lord Scroope, what could he attempt in that way with the least chance of success? So far from being able to take any such measures, he was unable to induce the clergy of his own capital to offer up a prayer of one sentence in behalf of him

unfortunate parent. It even appears that some of the more influential of his nobility wrote to Elizabeth, encouraging her to take the proposed step. All that he could do, therefore, was simply to rest in hope that Elizabeth would not proceed to the last extremity against his mother. So firmly did he trust to this, that he went on the 17th of the month to the hunting, though a rumour had already reached him of the fatal catastrophe. On the 20th, the news burst in all their reality upon his mind, when a messenger informed him that Sir Robert Carey, an English envoy, was waiting at Berwick for permission to enter Scotland, in order that he might apologise to his Majesty for the "unhappy accident"—so it was termed—which had taken place. James immediately retired to bed without food, that he might indulge his grief, and next morning he betook himself to a country palace for the same purpose. Carey he forbade to enter Scotland on such an errandi

It was not for some little time that the Scottish monarch could be brought to listen to Elizabeth's excuses. She threw all the blame upon Secretary Davison, who, she said, had misinterpreted her wishes as to the forwarding of the warrant; and Carey was instructed to describe her as being personally so much moved by grief for the deplorable mistake, that she was rather a fit object for the pity of the King of Scots than for his anger. With this ludicrous apology, and some hints of future favour, together with a representation of the advantages he gained by being a step nearer to the English crown, James was obliged to be content.

When all resentment on this score was at an end, James quictly resumed his habitual character as an ally and protegé of Elizabeth—the more bent, indeed, upon acting more implicitly by her wishes, that he was now more certain than ever of the succession to her crown. Thus, when the Spanish Armada next year swept along the shores of England, James held himself in readiness to contribute all the assistance in his power to repel any invasion, and took very sharp measures with certain of his Catholic nobility, who had entered into engagements with Spain for the purpose of assisting the views of that Court in the event of a landing being effected in Scotland. The fate of this magnificent fleet was soon decided. Partly harassed by the attacks of the English ressels, but more injured by a violent storm which assailed it as

lebarking a single enemy on the British coast. A number of the ressels were wrecked amidst the western and northern islands of Scotland, where the crews were glad to receive the most moderate lospitality from those whom they had come to destroy.

King James was now advanced to the age of twenty-two years, and it seemed advisable that he should be provided with a consort. There were various good reasons for his taking such a step. The next heir to the Scottish crown (the Earl of Arran) was a kunatic; by possessing children, the King was likely to become more acceptable to the English nation as their eventual ruler; on the same account there could be less temptation to assassinate him—a fate of which he always stood in fear from the Catholics, who, he thought, might thereby seek to cut off the succession of a Protestant family to the English throne: a wife was also calculated, as in private life, to increase the personal respectability of the monarch. Actuated by these views, James cast his thoughts upon the eldest daughter of the King of Denmark, who, as a Protestant princess, and of a kingdom little superior to his own in the list of European states, seemed an eligible match.

As it had been all along the policy of Queen Elizabeth to keep her heir-presumptive in a weak condition, and prevent his becoming popular in England, she had exactly the same reasons against James's marriage which disposed him to wish for it. She therefore employed all her art to impede his negociations, in which she was at length so successful that the Danish King conceived himself insulted, and gave his daughter to the Duke of Brunswick. James was then roused to an exertion of self-will, such as he never had exhibited before. He compelled his minister, Maitland of Thirlstane, who was always under the control of Elizabeth, to act for once according to the will of his nominal master, and despatch a plenipotentiary for Denmark to ask the second daughter of the King, and conclude the match on any reasonable terms. This was successful, and in the summer of 1589, the Princess Anne set sail for Scotland. Unfortunately she was driven back by a storm to her own country, and compelled to give up all hopes of sailing for Scotland till next season.

. James then made a still more spirited exertion. He left his

country in charge of a body of privy councillors, and took a romantic voyage with a small train to Norway, where his bride was lying. There he celebrated his marriage in the best style; and afterwards, upon invitation, proceeded to Chronenburg, the palace of the King of Denmark, where he was received in the most flattering manner. After a residence of some months in this country, during which he engaged very deeply in drinking with the northern compotators, he returned with his wife to Scotland, May, 1590.

It happened that this homeward voyage was not undisturbed James soon after detected a band of witches in East Lothian, who, by the confession of some of their number, had put the elements into confusion, through the influence of incantations and sorcery, for the purpose of preventing the royal pair from reaching Scotland. Their confessions involved Francis Stuart. Earl of Bothwell, a nephew of the infamous husband of Queen Mary, and cousin to the King, who, it appeared, had engaged them to destroy his majesty's life, or at least prevent all fruit of his marriage, by their infamous arts, so as to admit of Bothwell's having a chance to succeed to the crown. The Earl was for this apprehended and confined in Edinburgh Castle; and some of the witches were burnt at a stake, according to the custom of Scotland in such cases. James felt much interested in the discovery of so strange a plot against his life, and was induced by curiosity to attend the examinations of the witches. From the materials furnished by their confessions, he afterwards compiled a speculative treatise on witchcraft, which is found in his works under the title of "Dæmonologie."

It is impossible to conceive a weaker government in the hands of a weaker man, than that of Scotland in the hands of James the Sixth. From some constitutional defect in the King, he was found, on growing up, to have weak nerves, and entirely to want the manly fortitude which defies and resists danger. Goodnatured, prone to grotesque humour and familiarity, rendered by learning rather pedantic than intelligent, James altogether made up a character the most remote possible from our idea of royal dignity, and certainly by no means qualified to conduct a kingdom of so unruly a nature as Scotland. During his mature

years, therefore, as well as under the regencies, Scotland was in reality but a province of England; a small country, managed upon Protestant principles, under the guidance of Elizabeth, with the appearance, it is true, of a King of its own, but who was only a vassal of the English Queen—a person whom she kept in that condition, not so much, perhaps, for the sake of any positive good he could do to her in the grand cause of maintaining her throne against the Catholics, as merely that Scotland might not become a landing-place for them in any of their designs against her.

If this was James's political condition, his personal circumstances were even more deplorable. By his predecessors, James IV. and V., who lived at a time when the crown was wealthy, he had been left a series of palaces dispersed over the more civilised districts of Scotland-Holyrood-house, Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, and Falkland-which might have done credit to a richer state than Scotland. But so dilapidated were his revenues, and so difficult was it to raise contributions among his subjects, that he was frequently unable to furnish one of these houses with a good dinner for himself and his queen. Almost the only income he could depend upon was the pension granted him by Queen Elizabeth, which only amounted to five thousand pounds. When he was on the point of sailing to Denmark to meet his bride, we find him in such necessitous circumstances, as to be obliged to one or two private individuals for the furnishing of a little vessel in which he might make the voyage. At his return, he is found writing a humble letter to a gentleman in Ayrshire, for the use of his chariot to transport the queen on some short progress. Letters are extant, written in the hand of this monarch, and addressed to the lairds near his palace, in which he begs for a few hens and geese to furnish forth his marriage table. But perhaps the most ludicrous trait of his poverty upon record, is one which represents him as sending to the Earl of Mar, at a great distance, for the loan of a pair of silk stockings, in which he might make a decent appearance before the Spanish ambassador.

While a man of stronger mind would have either rescued some share of authority from his people, or been deposed for the attempt, James was not altogether without his writhings and his

struggles. With the nobility, for instance, he had the following mode of action. Being destitute of a standing army, or even a guard, to bring them to justice for any offence, he was accustomed to engage the unruly passions of some feudal enemy against them, and thus get them suppressed, at the expense of sowing the seeds of a thousand future broils. His general feelings, however, were friendly towards the nobility; and it was with the clergy that his chief struggles took place.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the country at the time of the Reformation, a great deal of undefined power and influence had fallen to the share of the clergy. The leading cause seems to be, that as the political and military affairs of the last thirty vears had all had reference to the establishment of the Protestant faith, it was natural for men to look to the ministers of that faith with a degree of respect much above what is usually given to the priestly character, and to deposit, as it were, the whole interest of the state in their hands. Another reason was, that the clergy, by casting from them all thoughts of pecuniary emolument, and devoting themselves in an apparently disinterested manner to the business of establishing their doctrines, had impressed a high sense of their unworldly dispositions upon the public, and were paid by their flocks in homage and respect what could not be rendered to them in coin. The result of all this was, that the Scottish clergy, untrammelled by any gradation of dignities, formed themselves into a kind of republic within the kingdom, and, in their collective character as a General Assembly, exercised a power of no small dimensions. The most troublesome feature of their system was, that, though interfering with every secular affair under their eyes, from the appointment of an officer of state or the negotiation of a national treaty, down to the meanest household arrangement in the families which composed their flocks, they denied all right in the King, or any other civil magistrate, to call them to account for word or action, professing only to be amenable to their own courts-where, of course, everything they did was interpreted in their favour-or to Christ, the head of their church, who, being invisible, was a merely ideal judge. King James, at various periods, endeavoured to introduce a certain civil control into this powerful body, or to reduce them into an episcopal form, whereby he might have had responsible dignitaries to answer for the conduct of the lower members; but he did not meet with the least success for some years after this period, when at length the near prospect of his accession to England gave him so much power in his own country as to enable him, to a certain extent, to break their spirit. At the time now under notice there were several ministers in Edinburgh and other parts of the kingdom, who, though perhaps enjoying incomes of only fifteen or twenty pounds a year, had more real influence over the people than Majesty itself.

Notwithstanding that the executive was kept in this miserable condition, it would appear that the country still pressed forward to wealth and intelligence. In the department of learning, Scotland possessed four universities, at which a good education was to be obtained at a moderate charge. Almost every town had a good school, diffusing knowledge in smaller, but not less useful channels. And these institutions, it may be remarked, were attended by the children of Highland and other remote proprietors, who, in the time of James IV., a century before, had had no such means of enlightenment. In literature, Scotland was steadily advancing, though as yet she had neither divines nor poets equal to those who adorned the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Printing, which was introduced in 1508 by two merchants of Edinburgh acting in partnership, was now practised by a number of persons in the same city, and had extended to Glasgow and St. Andrews; though it cannot be observed that there was any individual in the country carrying on exclusively the business of a bookseller. Commerce had certainly become much extended in Scotland during the last fifty years; and consequently the towns were getting wealthier than they had been. When Anne of Denmark entered Edinburgh, as wife of James VI., the corporation presented her with jewels to the amount of twenty thousand crowns. In Fife there was a chain of little sea-ports along the coast, which carried on a very conaiderable trade with the adjacent countries of Europe. This was the era of the introduction of manufactures into Aberdeen. Now, moreover, for the first time, did any trading men acquire a considerable amount of wealth. More than one Scottish nobleman, and a considerable number of gentry, trace back their origin to wealthy merchants of this epoch.-With regard to moral culture. Scotland was by no means in a backward state. It is to be observed, that although the violent passions of the upper classes, and the weak state of the government, occasionally produced dreadful tragedies, the people were, nevertheless, in general virtuous. Crimes in this age, as is evident from the books of justiciary, were confined almost solely to the rich and great: the poor were stigmatised with no habitual crime. except the supposed one of witchcraft, which chiefly affected the class of old women. Then, as well as now, natural feeling rose indignant at a tale of blood, of oppression, or of the violation of anything which was generally esteemed sacred; and this spirit, under the direction of the preachers, often exercised an influence over the government. There are also to be found in the private memoirs of the time, characters of men in the superior stations of society who exercised almost every Christian virtue, and would have adorned any age. The very vices of the period-revenge, and the necessity of taking side with a friend whether right or wrong-were only the excesses of certain virtues. As the merchants of the age were necessitated to have stauncheons on their windows to protect their goods from spoliation, and sometimes were under the necessity of carrying their whole collective wealth to a bastile, or fortified town-house. where they had to defend it with arms from domestic enemies: so were men found to have still a strain of the old rudeness of their country pervading even the best of their qualities, if it were for nothing but self-defence. The dagger hung beside the ink-horn, as a matter of attire, from the girdles of even the most peaceful of professional men, and was considered as indispensable.

CHAPTER XV.

REIGN OF JAMES VI. TO THE UNION OF THE CROWNS.

BOTHWELL resented his confinement in Edinburgh Castle very deeply: for it was at that time the curse of Scotland that justice never appeared in its own shape, but could only be inflicted under the invidious guise of victory over the guilty person, gained by a feudal or political enemy. This nobleman therefore shut his eyes entirely to his real guilt, as a thing that had nothing to do with his confinement; in his own conceit he was only an unfortunate courtier at the ban of his enemy the Chancellor Maitland. He even believed that, if he only could gain the King's ear, and seclude his person for a little while from Maitland, he should become the principal courtier, as he hoped to be before.

He contrived to escape from confinement, and went to his own estates to endeavour to raise his followers. The Chancellor caused sentence of forfeiture and outlawry to be pronounced against him. Suddenly, Bothwell approached one of the gates of the city with sixteen horse, and there being no force at the command of either King or Chancellor to oppose him, he was permitted to defy the whole power of the government with impunity. Throwing a forty shilling piece upon the ground, he protested in the face of the city that he was a rebel to the Chancellor only, and not to the King; and he said he would give that sum to any one who should bring forth Maitland from the city. The citizens kept within their walls, and were glad when he turned to depart.

He was not so successful on a second appearance near Edinburgh (October 1591). The King, being then better provided, no sooner learned that Bothwell was in the neighbourhood than he went out in person with some friends, and compelled him to fly. Two months after (December 27), he was introduced by treachery, under cloud of night, into the King's palace of

Holyrood-house; intending, no doubt, to displace the Chancellor, and remain in possession of the royal person. But for a premature outcry, which was raised by some of his coadjutors, he would have found the King undressed in his chamber. James fortunately got the alarm; ran down the back-stairs, in a condition little short of nudity, and throwing himself into a tower which was capable of defence, eluded the hands of the traitor. Maitland also had time to bar his doors, and make himself safe. Bothwell was then obliged to retire for fear of being counter-surprised by the citizens, who were beginning to flock to the King's assistance.

Out of this affair arose the murder of a young nobleman, sonin-law and heir to the Regent Murray. This person, besides being distinguished for personal beauty, was a noted leader of the more intractable clergy; for both which reasons he was highly popular. The party spirit which had placed the Earls of Murray and Huntly in opposition thirty years before, had descended to their heirs. Murray had protected a culprit from justice in his castle of Tarnaway; Huntly coming up to claim him in a judicial capacity, Murray gave fire from the battlements, and killed a clansman of his rival. The kindred of the deceased vowed vengeance, and Huntly, as the chief of the family, naturally became interested in seeing it executed. Murray soon after falling under suspicion of having been concerned with Bothwell, James thought proper, according to his usual system. to grant Huntly a commission to bring him to justice. On the night of the 5th of February, 1592, the Earl proceeded with a band of followers to seize his rival at Donibrissle House, in Fife. On seeing a troop of Gordons at his door, the young nobleman of course took every precaution for his defence. On his refusal to yield himself, the Gordons set fire to the gate. Murray then held counsel with a friend, Dunbar, sheriff of Moray, who happened to be with him, and who was so generous as to propose that he should break through the flames first, and engage the attention of the enemy, while Murray might escape. Dunbar met the fate he scarcely hoped to avoid. Murray, taking advantage of the moment, broke through also, and had actually

rot to some distance unobserved. He took refuge amidst the rocks on the neighbouring beach. Unfortunately, the strings of his head-piece had caught fire, and now hanging at his back, gave forth a lurid glare through the darkness. Traced by this mark, he was cut down without resistance by Gordon of Buckie, a fierce clansman of Huntly. Mindful even in that situation of his superior beauty. Murray exclaimed, "You have spoilt a better face than your own," and instantly expired. It is said that, in accordance with a custom which has already been more than once alluded to, the murderer compelled his chief to approach and give a wound to the body with his sword, by way of pledging himself as a party to the deed. The King was brought into great perplexity by this transaction, which the Presbyterians in general attributed to his own jealousy of their darling leader. In order to appease them and restore himself to the public approbation, he was compelled to give sanction in Parliament to the establishment of their system of churchgovernment, which continued for a time. As for the punishment of the real murderers, that was a thing altogether beyond his power.

There is reason to believe that Queen Elizabeth very soon caught up the idea of giving some encouragement to Bothwell, as a good means of keeping James in check. With some borderers, whom he must have raised partly through her influence, he made a second attack upon the King at the palace of Falkland (June 26, 1592.) James, being on this occasion apprised of his approach, locked the gates, and stood to his defence; and the turbulent Earl was compelled to retire, and, in his retreat to the border, lost many of his men.

The public was now entertained with an amusement very much to its taste, and which it seldom wanted for any great length of time,—a Catholic conspiracy. A gentleman, seized in the act of quitting the country, was found to have upon his person a few blank letters addressed to the King of Spain, and subscribed with the names of the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, who were all Catholics. Had the letters been filled up, and found to contain the plan of a new Spanish armada, that would have been a

definite source of terror: the mind would have rested there and been content. But letters which contained nothing but blank space, and which every man was at liberty to fill up as his fancy dictated; here was endless ground for alarm. James's policy regarding the Catholics was to keep them in as friendly a state towards himself as might be consistent with his profession of another religion. He wished to conciliate the powers abroad, that they might not oppose his right of succession to the crown of England; and he abstained as much as possible from persecution of the Romanists at home, in order to balance them off against the Presbyterians. In the present case, believing that the nobles who appeared concerned in this blank plot were only anxious to secure some share of toleration by the influence of the King of Spain, he was little disposed to go into all the demands of his people regarding them. Such, however, was the excited state of the public mind, that it was not till it had been gratified by the blood shed at the Battle of Glenlivet, that it could be altogether quieted. This encounter between the retainers of the persecuted Catholics, and a feudal enemy sent to exterminate them, took place on the 3rd of October, 1594. It was nominally a victory to the Catholic nobles, but had the effect of destroying their power, and compelling them to go to banishment.

On the 19th of February, 1594, James was gratified by the birth of a male heir at Stirling Castle; an event which added greatly to his merit as heir-presumptive of England, and contributed not a little to his personal security. This young prince, who was named Henry, promised, by his extraordinary qualities of mind and temper to be an excellent sovereign; but he was cut off by natural disease in the nineteenth year of his age, leaving the succession to his next brother, Charles, who was born some years later.

To pursue the story of Bothwell: he contrived at length to form a party at Court against the Chancellor. Being admitted, by treachery, into the King's presence (July 23, 1593,) he obtained what he had so long wished, the possession of the royal person, and seemed for a little time to be the reigning adviser of Majesty. James was too seriously disgusted with his officious

friend to endure him long: by a sudden shift of place, the King got clear of his influence, and, with the support of his subjects. placed the pestilent noble once more at the mercy of the law. An open rebellion was the consequence: the clergy had a leaning to his cause, for no observable reason except that he was a trouble to the King; and he contrived to make a good appearance on the field. James, however, was enabled by Lord Hume, a Catholic noble of high family influence, to bring something like an army to oppose him. The parties had several meetings, but no serious rencounter, the King on all occasions going forth in person to animate his troops. Bothwell was at last obliged, by the increasing strength of the King, to abandon his enterprise and quit the country. He died abroad in great obscurity, leaving a son, who was never able to recover from the effects of his father's follies. A grandson rode as a common trooper in the regiment of Life-Guards, which was raised in Scotland during the reign of Charles II., since named the Scots Greys.*

It has been mentioned that the Scottish Presbyterians obtained the establishment of their republican form of church policy in 1592, in consequence of the weakness to which the King was at that time reduced by the odium of the murder of the Earl of Murray. James, who had ever since been writhing under the dominion thus imposed upon him, was now anxious, if possible, to introduce a moderate system of Episcopacy, by which he might secure some degree of obedience from this branch of his subjects. Their imprudence supplied him with an opportunity.

The year 1596 saw the King unannoyed, almost for the first time in his life, with any public enemy or rebel. Bothwell was now banished; the Catholic Lords had returned to restore the balance against the Presbyterians; Queen Elizabeth was waxing infirm, and promised soon to demit her sceptre to King James; in the prospect of this splendid inheritance many men came to

^{*} The present flourishing and peaceful family of Buccleuch has had the fortune to be connected with the royal family through two specimens of turbulent illegitimacy, Bothwell and Monmouth. Sir Walter Scott, of Buccleuch, married a daughter of the former, and through her the family enjoy or have enjoyed, a great part of his estates.

his Majesty's side, who had before kept at a distance, or actually opposed him; the very witches ceased for awhile to give the royal mind any alarm—as if the powers of darkness had at length found him too much for them, and resolved to give up the contest with a man who was not only able to punish them with fire, but publish their misdoings in paper and print. This was a state of things calculated to give the clergy great uneasiness. The country at peace; the government beginning to make itself be felt among the people; Queen Elizabeth drawing near death; and the witches either all burnt out, or conciliated to the royal cause: it was impossible that King James could long enjoy these advantages without beginning to think of some design for abridging the power of the church.

The quarrel was precipitated by a clergyman at St. Andrews, who one day preached a seditious sermon, in which he characterised kings and queens as the children of the devil. James made an attempt to bring this person before his privy council. The church, in its assumed infallibility, quickly stood forward to protect him. He was instructed to decline and defy the authority of the council to judge of his case, for it was only, they said, competent to the General Assembly to try an offence committed in a sacred function. James insisted that sedition was a secular crime, and therefore liable, whether in clergyman or layman, to be tried by a secular court. But it did not suit the views of this body to allow such a doctrine. The consequence was, that, as the King persisted with some degree of firmness upon his right of examining the offender, the church was thrown into a state little short of open rebellion; in which a great part of the people, and some of the nobility, joined them. They at length proceeded to such a pitch of audacity, as to hold systematic meetings in Edinburgh and elsewhere, for the advancement of their interests, as if they had been inclined to establish a government entirely distinct from that of King James.

On the 17th of December, 1596, the King was sitting in the court of justice at Edinburgh, when a great body of nobles, clergy, and people, met together in a church only divided from that place by a partition wall, and made up a petition, in which

they remonstrated with much freedom against his late proceedings. While two or three of their number were presenting this to him, a preacher regaled those who remained in the church with a violent sermon, in which the story of Haman was somehow tortured into an application to the present circumstances. As they were tingling in every nerve with this exciting theme, some one who felt amused at their ridiculous state of alarm, cried in at the door, "Fly, save yourselves!" which in a moment caused the whole assemblage to rise and rush tumultuously from the church, under an apprehension that the royal power was about to fall upon them in the shape of a file of soldiers. Men rushed hither and thither, brandishing their weapons, and crying, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" Others crowded round the door of the court in which the King sat, crying, "Bring out the wicked Haman!" To the surprise of all, no enemy appeared. The King waited till the effervescence subsided, and then went home to his palace, guarded by the magistrates. An overt act of treason like this was calculated to place the fortunes of the church at the disposal of the King: for it caused the good sense of all unprejudiced persons to rise in his favour, and made it seem reasonable that he should take sharp measures with the clergy. He had only to make a good handle of it, to tame the pride of this imperious body, and cause them to accept of a gradation of dignitaries. Henceforth the church continued more or less episcopal in its government, till the breaking out of the civil war in 1638.

From this period to 1600, neither the history of the country nor the life of the King furnishes any incident of note. It was a quiet time of expectation, in which the royal faculties were entirely subdued by the prospect of the death of Elizabeth, who was now approaching her seventieth year. James spent the most of his leisure time in his favourite sport of buck-hunting, which was plentifully supplied to him by the royal park at Falkland. The public mind in Scotland, agitated for centuries by ideas of hostility against England, at length rested in the tranquil hope of a permanent alliance with that country under one sovereign, an alliance to which community of religion had done much during the last forty years to dispose them.

At length, in August, 1600, the unusual stillness was suddenly broken by the famous Gowry conspiracy. The reader will easily bring to mind the execution of the first bearer of this title in 1584, for his concern in the affair of Ruthven. Since then the family had been restored by the King's grace to its estates and titles; and Earl John, son of the beheaded Earl, was just returned from the university of Padua, where he had been completing his education. This young nobleman is said to have been gifted with uncommon elegance of person; but his mind appears to have been tainted with most of the foibles of the age. He cherished some absurd notions which had been inspired into him by Italian conjurors, regarding the exaltation of his fortunes in Scotland, and he entertained a dark sentiment of revenge against the King, for his Majesty's concern in the death of his father. Upon the whole, he was an ambitious, vain, conceited young man, who seems to have thought that he could do anything to which he chose to apply himself, even though it concerned the throne of the realm.

Soon after his return to Scotland, which took place in the spring of 1600, the Earl appears to have conceived the notion of playing a similar game with the King to that which was played by his father at Ruthven; namely, an attempt to get possession of his person, and direct the government in his name. His chief confederate in this scheme was his next brother, Alexander Ruthven; no other can be traced except an old baron, Logan of Restalrig, who resided in a cliff-built fortress called Fastcastle, on the coast of Berwickshire. The circumstances which appear in evidence are as follows:—

Early in the morning of the 5th of August, as the King was leaving his palace of Falkland to go to the buck-hunting, Mr. Alexander Ruthven came up to him, and told a long confused story about a suspicious-looking person whom he had taken into custody the night before, and confined in his brother's house at Perth. As this person carried a pot of broad gold pieces under his cloak, Ruthven said he had suspected him of being an emissary of some Catholic sovereign, commissioned to raise a new rebellion; and he therefore requested his Majesty to ride

to Perth, and examine him in person; in which case the gold would fall to the royal exchequer, instead of being appropriated by any inferior magistrates.

Partly from curiosity, partly from a desire of securing the gold, but yet not altogether satisfied as to the feasibility of the tale, James consented to accompany Ruthven to Perth. After the hunt was done, he set out on horseback; followed, much against Ruthven's wish, by nearly a dozen of his courtiers. The party found the Earl of Gowry seated in his house at dinner, and to all appearance unaware of the approach of such a company. Preparations were hastily made for entertaining the King and his attendants.

After dinner, Alexander Ruthven hinted to the King that it was now time for them to go and examine the supposed emissary. James followed the young man through several apartments. Some of the courtiers rose to accompany his Majesty; but Ruthven kept them back, and locked a door to exclude them. At last, having led the King into a remote chamber, where only a man was seen standing in armour. Ruthven suddenly changed the demeanour of an obeisant courtier for that of an assassin, snatched a dagger from the girdle of the armed man, and presenting it to the King's breast, said, "Sir, you must be my prisoner; remember of my father's death!" James, being totally unarmed, had no resource but to mollify the young man with fair words. He said that, as for the death of the late Earl of Gowry, it was done in his minority, when he had no power in the State. He reminded Ruthven of their friendship up to this He asked what could be his object in such strange conduct. Ruthven said he only desired to exact a promise from his Majesty, and he should bring his brother to explain what it He then left the room, locking the door behind him: and James found himself alone with the man in armour, who had hitherto done nothing but tremble at the strange scene passing before his eyes.

This individual was a domestic of the Earl of Gowry, whom the two brothers appear to have thrust in here for the purpose of assisting them in their design, but who, in reality, contrary to what might have been expected from a Scottish servant in that age, was by no means inclined to commit treason in his master's behalf. The King soon discovered this in conversation, and requested him to open one of the windows, which locked to the court-yard of the house. As the man was doing so, Alexander Ruthven came into the room, and flying at the Kingcried, "Sir, there is no remedy;" and began to bind the royal hands with a garter.

The Earl of Gowry was, meanwhile, playing his own part. Soon after James had retired with Ruthven, a servant suddenly entered to inform his Lordship and the royal party that the King was gone back to Falkland unattended. The courtiers, thinking of nothing but some practical joke on the King's part, rushed out to the court-yard, and called for their horses, intending to ride after him. At that moment, a voice, as of one in the agonies of strangulation, was heard to cry from an upper window in the building, "Help, help, my Lord of Mar! Help! Treason! I am murdered;" and looking up, they saw part of the King's face, flushed and terrified, at the widow of a turret, while a hand grasping the royal throat was also partially seen. The greater part of the courtiers immediately rushed back into the house, and endeavoured to reach the place where the King was; Sir Thomas Erskine seized the Earl of Gowry by the throat, exclaiming, "Traitor, this is thy deed!" Two or three rushed into a minor stair-case, which ascended to the turret, and which had been left open by the conspirators from mistake, One of those last, named John Ramsay, was the first to reach the royal presence. When he entered the chamber, he found the King and his assassin griping each other, the latter endeavouring all he could to draw his sword in order to despatch the King, while the other struggled with all his might to hold his hand. As for the man in armour, who had hitherto stood in a fit of trepidation, unable either to assist his master or defend the King, he now glided from the apartment. Ramsay instantly drew his sword, and inflicted a stab upon Ruthven's neck. The young man relaxed his gripe; and the King pushed him down the stair-case, where he was met and killed by other courtiers now ascending to his Majesty's rescue.

Gowry, who had soon shaken himself loose from the gripe of Sir Thomas Erskine, gathered seven of his servants, and drawing a pair of swords, which he was in the habit of wearing in one sheath, rushed also up this stair-case. He found in the apartment only four friends of the King; for those who ascended by the main stair were impeded by a locked door. A fight took place, in which Ramsay ran the Earl through the body. He fell, and never spoke another word; the servants fled or surrendered. James knelt down in the bloody apartment, and with all his friends bending on their knees around him, returned thanks to God for his preservation. When he visited Scotland seventeen years after, he came to Perth on the anniversary of this remarkable day, introduced all his English courtiers into the same room, and, kneeling in the midst of them, renewed the prayer uttered on the present occasion.

This affair has been the subject of much controversy, some maintaining that the evidence of Ruthven's intentions is defective. while others do not scruple to allege that it was a plot on the part of the King, in order to get quit of two persons towards whom he had an ill-will. It is only possible to maintain this view of the case, if we take from the King all credit as a witness, and prove him to have been capable of a degree of wickedness far beyond what appears in any other part of his life. His nervous timidity, making even the sight of a weapon painful to him, seems sufficient to overthrow any theory which implies his having gone to the house of the Ruthvens at Perth with any design for destroying them. Indeed, all such theories may now be set down as merely the effect of prejudice. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the Ruthvens contemplated anything beyond one of those detentions of the royal person for political purposes, which so often took place during this reign.

The conclusion of the tragedy was a process of forfeiture against the family of Ruthven, and an act for abolishing the use of the very name; whereby a fulfilment was certainly brought

to the declaration of Queen Mary to Lord Ruthven, after Rizzio's death, that her offspring should yet avenge the insult then offered to her. King James caused the 5th of August to be observed as a holiday during the whole of his reign.

That reign, so far as Scotland was concerned in its separate capacity, was now drawing to a close. Elizabeth was observed, from about this period, to decline very fast. As she became more and more infirm, her courtiers turned their eyes with the greater anxiety to her successor. Even her most confidential favourites began at length to open a correspondence with King James, for the purpose of securing his favour. Among those were some who had assisted in the destruction of his mother; he wisely smothered all resentment on that score. Cecil. the Queen's chief secretary, and the son of that very Lord Burleigh who was principally instrumental in effecting the death of Mary, carried on a secret correspondence with James for several years before the death of his mistress, in order to smooth away all the difficulties of the succession, and at the same time fix himself in the affections of the future King of England. To this circumstance, perhaps, James was not a little indebted for his easy accession; for he might have otherwise had to dispute his title with some descendant of Henry VII., who would present the advantage of having been born in England, as was required by an Act of Parliament formed by Henry VIII. for regulating the succession.

In the fulness of time, by the death of Elizabeth on the 24th of March, 1603, the King of Scots became also King of England, whereby the wars that had so long desolated the two countries from a feeling of national rivalry, seemed to be set for ever at rest. James was apprised of the good news by the same messenger who had come sixteen years before to apologise for the death of his mother, namely, Sir Robert Cary; who, in order to be first, performed the journey from London to Edinburgh in three days and two nights. James, on the 5th of April, set out for London, attended by a gallant train of those Scottish counsellors who had been most faithful to him. As he advanced by leisurely journeys through England, he was everywhere received

with the utmost joyfulness, the people being pleased with the novelty of a male sovereign, in addition to all other causes of satisfaction. He arrived in London, to take possession of his new state, on the 22nd of May; and his family, now consisting of two sons and a daughter, soon after joined him.—With this incident ends the history of Scotland in its condition of a distinct kingdom.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER 1.	
PAGE REIGN OF JAMES VI. IN ENGLAND	
CHAPTER II.	
REIGN OF CHARLES I.—THE RELIGIOUS TROUBLES 9	
CHAPTER III.	
CHARLES I. CONTINUED—THE CIVIL WAR 20	
CHAPTER IV.	
CIVIL WAR-MONTROSE'S CAMPAIGN-EXECUTION OF CHARLES I 32	
CHAPTER V.	
CHARLES II. BEFRIENDED BY THE SCOTS—COMMONWEALTH 46	
CHAPTER VI.	
RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—THE "PERSECUTION."	Oi

							_
	CHAPTI	R VII.					
							PAGE
PERSECUTION CONTINUED-	THE REVO	LUTION	•	•	•		. 80
	СНАРТЕ	R VIII.					
FROM THE REVOLUTION TO	THE UNK	. .		•		•	. 92
	CHAPT	BR 1X.					
THE REBELLION OF 1715		,-	٠,				. 106
	CHAPT	ER X.					
THE REBELLION OF 1745		•	•		•	•	. 115
	CHAPT	ER XI.					
THE REBELLION OF 1745	ONTINUED					•	. 130
	СНАРТЕ	er XII.					
SEVEN YEARS' WAR-AMEI	RICAN WA	R.					. 145
	СНАРТЕ	R XIII					
FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY V	VARPOPT	JLAR M	OVEM	ENT8		•	. 163
	СНАРТЕ	R XIV.	•				
KING'S VISIT-THE REFORM	M BILL .						. 174

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF JAMES VI. IN ENGLAND.

The union of England and Scotland, under one monarch, was a great step towards the complete incorporation of the two nations, and at least seemed to render it impossible that they should ever again take up arms against each other.

No person rejoiced more heartily in such a prospect than King James, who made it his boast that the borders of the two countries, which had hitherto been always at war with each other, were now rendered the heart or centre of one peaceful country. The more effectually to do away with all nominal distinctions, and give but one object to the national feeling of the two countries, he decreed that the whole island should henceforward be called Great Britain, and its inhabitants the British people. He also took an early opportunity of urging measures for a complete union of the laws and legislatures of the two countries.

It is not easy, however, to obliterate from the face of a nation "the marks of that which once hath been." At the earnest request of the King, the parliaments of the two countries appointed commissioners to treat about a Union. These commissioners met in July, 1604, at Westminster, and sat in deliberation for many days. The prejudices of the two nations were not to be overcome. The English regarded the Scotch with contempt, on account of their poverty: the Scotch could not entertain a friendly feeling towards a nation which met all their advances with scorn. The English feared that, in the

event of a union, they should be overrun with needy adventurers from the north, of whom a considerable detachment had already followed the King. The Scotch, on the other hand, were scrupulous about their independency, which, as they thought, would be sacrificed by the loss of their separate Parliament and They also feared for their church, which the state offices. King had already attempted to bring to a conformity with that of England, and which, they believed, could not long survive a national union with an episcopal country. Thus, after a session of several months, the commissioners broke up without accomplishing what the King so earnestly desired. All that could be gained at this time was a decision in the English law-courts, by which it was established that persons born in Scotland after the accession of King James were entitled to the ordinary legal privileges of English citizens, though not to enjoy state offices in England.

The kingdom of Scotland was now left in exactly the same condition as formerly, except that it wanted the immediate presence of a court. This was perhaps a more endurable deficiency than might generally be supposed. It would appear that James V., whose crown revenues were in excellent condition, did not spend above two thousand a year in the support of his court. His grandson, the present Sovereign, had enjoyed little more revenue than the pension of five thousand pounds granted by Elizabeth, and was perhaps rather a grievance than a benefit to his subjects, on account of the frequent loans and gifts which he exacted from them. It is at least a clear point, that much more was gained by the nation in having such a rich field of enterprise opened to it in the south, than could possibly be lost by the absence of the Sovereign. The Parliament continued to meet as usual, the King presiding over it in the person of hi commissioner, who ratified the acts by a touch of the sceptre. The chancellor, the treasurer, and all the rest of the state officers, remained the same. The privy council also remained, and formed the standing government of the country-Thus, with a show of independent government, and the prospect of a visit from the King every third year, Scotland had much reason to be satisfied with its political condition. There was only one fatal point of discontent, which remains to be noticed.

After a journey of six weeks, which he compared to a constant hunting-match, James had arrived in London, and was crowned on the 25th of July, together with his Queen. He had scarcely settled himself on the throne, when a formidable plot was contrived against him by a party of disappointed courtiers. joined to some intriguing Catholics. It was fortunately discovered in time. Two priests and one gentleman were executed: Lords Cobham and Grev, with Sir Walter Raleigh, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and some others were banished. A more dreadful conspiracy was afterwards formed by a party of Catholics exclusively. This body of religionists had been for many years subjected to severe persecution; all attempts at procuring toleration had failed, probably as much from the dangerous intrigues which the priests and jesuits were constantly carrying on, as from anything else. One enthusiast, named Catesby, at length formed the resolution to avenge his injured church by one dreadful blow. Along with some associates, he placed a great quantity of gunpowder in a cellar beneath the House of Lords. He intended that, on the 5th of November, when the Parliament was to open, this mine should be exploded, by which the King, the Queen, the heir apparent, the whole members of the government, and both Houses of Parliament, would be blown into the air together. The design was discovered a few hours before it was to have been put into execution, and King James was so grateful for the deliverance, that he caused the 5th of November to be kept as a holiday, which is the case to this day.

The history of Scotland and England during the ensuing century is in a great measure the history of religion. It is already known, that in Scotland by far the greater part of the people were strongly attached to the Presbyterian Church, which consists of a set of clergymen, all of whom are equal in rank, and who acknowledge no dependence in spiritual matters upon any earthly sovereign. The people of England, on the other hand, were pretty equally divided into Episcopalians, who adhered to the Established Church, and avowed an express subor-

dination to the King; Catholics, who looked upon the Pope as their superior; and Puritans, who, like the Presbyterians of Scotland, regarded Christ as the only supreme power in matters of religion. It is obvious that, of all these classes of people, the King must have been most favourable to the Episcopalians, who were most friendly to his power, and that he could not help looking upon the Presbyterians, Puritans, and Catholics, with distrust and fear, as avowing the principles inconsistent in some measure with monarchical rule.

Perhaps the King's suspicions were in a great measure unfounded in regard to the Scottish Presbyterians, who, in many subsequent trials, proved themselves friendly to monarchy as a State government, and to the family of Stuart in particular, though their religious principles caused them to reject the interference of the King with their spiritual affairs. The struggles, however, which the King had maintained with the clergy in Scotland, left him with an impression that the equality and independence of the Presbyterian system was incompatible with the existence of a monarchy; and he had long resolved upon exerting himself to extend the episcopal system to that country, in the hope that he would thereby obtain more complete obedience.

He had, therefore, from time to time appointed churchmen to the various sees, though without obtaining for them either the revenues or the spiritual power which alone could make them respected. Neither had they received that consecration from the hands of elder bishops, which is held essential to the constitution of a bishop, as the means of connecting him with the ordination of the apostles. It was his efforts to erect these men into a complete Episcopal system, that proved the only cause of discontent in Scotland during his otherwise happy reign.

According to the existing laws of the Scottish Church, the clergy had a right to hold their general assemblies annually, without any appointment from the King. James had for two or three years prorogued these meetings, and the clergy had obeyed. At length, fearing that by giving way any longer they might compromise their rights, a small number met at Aberdeen,

on the 2nd of July 1605, and, refusing an order to dismiss, which was presented by the Privy Council, they became liable to the pains of treason. Six were banished for this offence, and eight had to take up their residence in such remote parts of the kingdom as effectually marred their usefulness as clergymen.

The great additional influence which James had gained over Scotland by means of England, enabled him, in 1606, to procure the endowment of the new bishops with revenues, and even with a partial degree of episcopal supremacy. His chief instrument in obtaining the consent of Parliament to these measures was Sir George Home, a faithful Scottish councillor, whom he had created Earl of Dunbar.

At length, in 1611, three of the bishops were called up to London, to receive episcopal ordination from the hands of the English prelates. This privilege they communicated to their brethren on their return, and the spiritual efficacy of the new church might then be considered as complete. James further confirmed its power by erecting two Courts of High Commission, of which the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow were the presidents, and which had not only an inquisitorial power in all ecclesiastical offences, but also in the venial trespasses of the people.

Still the nation had reason to rejoice that their forms of worship were Presbyterian. The bishops ruled the clergy according to the royal desires; but they had not yet dared to bring any forms or ceremonies into the Church itself, or to alter that extemporaneous service by which the devotions of the people had been chiefly conducted since the Reformation. It is probable that if James and his successors had continued satisfied with what they had gained, the Scottish Church would have continued to exist with an episcopal government joined to Presbyterian forms; but the latter were a perpetual example before the eyes of the English, and it was thought that, till both nations were reduced to a uniformity in every respect, there could be no safety for the Retablished Church of England, and consequently, as it was thought, for the monarchy itself.

King James had reserved the business of imposing the Episcopal

forms for a great personal effort. For fourteen years he had been prevented by various circumstances from visiting his native kingdom. The desire of settling the Church at length overcame every obstacle. In May 1617, he entered Scotland, accompanied by a gallant train of English nobles and gentlemen, with several Everywhere he was received with joyful acclamations, and the most humble offers of duty. He found, however, that, whatever advance had hitherto been made towards an Episcopal system of Church-government, the people, and the sincerer part of the clergy, still cherished an invincible repugnance to everything connected with it. He had brought with him the whole machinery, animate and inanimate, for fitting up a chapel royal at Edinburgh, in the style of an English Church, that it might serve as a model for the rest of the places of worship throughout the kingdom. But, except a few servile state officers, and the churchmen concerned in introducing the Episcopal system, he could prevail on no one to attend it. The vestments of the clergy and choristers were styled the rags of popery; the organ was looked upon as a profanation; and a set of pictures of the twelve Apostles, hung up for an ornament, were characterised as the insignia of idolatry.

He was not more successful in his endeavours with the Parliament. The nobles and gentry had for some time been alarmed at the arbitrary character of the government; they were offended at the exaltation of so many men who were lately parish clergymen. to an equality with themselves; and, above all things, they began to fear that the King contemplated a general revocation of the Church-lands. After a keen contest about the appointment of the Lords of the Articles, in which the King was worsted, an article was presented, confirming to his Majesty the supreme right of judging in all ecclesiastical matters, with the assistance of a certain number of his clergy. Against this a strong protest was presented by a body of the Presbyterian ministers; and. after much discussion, the King was obliged to have it withdrawn. He inflicted severe punishment upon the leading persons concerned in the protest; David Calderwood, who drew it up. was banished beyond seas, and others were imprisoned. But. after all, he was obliged to leave his proposals for a conformity of

worship to the consideration of the General Assembly, which was appointed to meet at St. Andrews.

The King, after spending some time at Edinburgh, proceeded to visit several of the provincial towns, such as Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and Falkland. At every town, and almost at every mansion which he visited, he was received with panegyrical crations in classical Latin, which were afterwards published in a collected shape, and are allowed to be an honourable testimony of the state of learning at that time in Scotland. The adulation with which he was everywhere addressed might have convinced him that he was at least secure of the allegiance and affections of Scotland, without the necessity of altering the religion of the country into any more loyal shape. In his homeward journey he visited Glasgow, Hamilton, and Dumfries; and, entering England by the western border, reached London in September.

The General Assembly met in November, and proceeded to consider the forms proposed by the King, which were:—1. That the eucharist should be received from the hand of the minister, and in a kneeling posture; 2. That it should be administered in private in extreme sickness; 3. That baptism should be administered in private, if necessary; 4. That episcopal confirmation should be bestowed upon youth; 5. That the descent of the spirit, the birth, passion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, should be commemorated by annual festivals of the Church. Though none of these forms involved a change in the general mode of worship, they were of considerable importance in theology, and accordingly they met with warm opposition from both clergy and people. The St. Andrews Assembly would only consent that the elements should be given from the hands of the minister, and that the sacrament should be administered in private, when the communicant gave his oath that he was too sick to leave the house. When James was made acquainted with their decisions, he expressed violent anger, and immediately gave orders to stop certain additional salaries which he had lately bestowed upon the clergy. He also imprisoned a few whose violent opposition had brought them under the censure of his Court of High Commission. So effectual were these measures, that, next year, in a second General Assembly at Perth, his five articles were all received; an equally intimidated parliament gave their sanction in 1521; but still they were of little real avail in reforming the Church. The people contrived a thousand expedients for evading those forms which were compulsory, and such as were voluntary received no attention.

Previous to this period, Henry, the eldest son of the King, had died at the age of eighteen, just as his spirited and amiable character had begun to be appreciated by the nation. The heir apparent was now Prince Charles, the second son of the King. James's only other surviving child, Elizabeth, was married in 1613, to Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

King James died on the 27th of March, 1625, of a tertian ague. He was then in the fifty-ninth year of his age, the fiftyeighth of his Scottish, and the twenty-third of his English reign. In estimating his character, historians have been much puzzled by its many singularities and contradictions. He was a man of extensive intellect and great learning. Yet his mind had many weaknesses, the result perhaps of constitutional infirmity; and his erudition, profound as it was, never seemed better than the pedantry of a schoolmaster. He entertained the highest notions of the royal dignity, believed himself to be an immediate deputy of the Almighty, and thought that any resistance to the royal will by a subject, was little less than blasphemy. Yet his general conduct, so far from being dignified, wanted common manliness—was often, indeed, disgraced by the lowest buffoonery; so that his subjects, however they might appreciate his goodnature and easy familiarity, could never allow him that veneration which he thought his due. Another contradiction in his character was his religion. He entertained the most sincere and solemn feelings of devotion, and he was as deeply skilled in theology as most bishops in his dominions; yet his ordinary language was full of profane oaths and imprecations, insomuch as to become a subject of remark with foreign princes. He had few vices, but many foibles. His heart was humane, his mind liberal; but his timidity rendered him occasionally cruel, and his contests with the Puritans, to whom he bore only a political antipathy, brought him under the charge of intolerance. His want of courage,

which was a conspicuous property, also brought him under the necessity of often using insidious and cunning methods of gaining his ends, where an open and candid behaviour would have been not only more honourable, but more successful. Altogether, it may safely be said of James, that, if he had had a real vice in the room of every little weakness, and had his learning and intellect been bartered for a little more strength of character, he would have now enjoyed a much higher reputation.

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF CHARLES I .- THE RELIGIOUS TROUBLES.

James, Sixth of Scotland and First of England, was succeeded by his son, Charles I., who was now in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

A negotiation had been some time in progress for a marriage between Charles and the Princess Henrietta Maria of France, who was the youngest daughter of Henry IV., the greatest sovereign that ever ruled over that country. The union of the royal pair was carried into effect in May, amidst great rejoicings.

The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine, was destined to prove very unfortunate. The Bohemians, who had rebelled against their Sovereign, the Emperor of Germany, offered to make the Elector their King. He had scarcely accepted the Crown, when he was defeated by the Emperor, and not only driven from his new dominions, to which he had no right, but also from his paternal sovereignty of the Rhine. For some years he and his wife wandered about Europe, without any regular abode, while King James in vain endeavoured by negociations to restore him at least to his native dominions. Yet from this unfortunate match has sprung the family that now possesses the sovereignty of the British Islands—Sophia, daughter of the Elector and of the Princess Elizabeth, having been the mother of King George I.

The Emperor of Germany, who had deprived the unfortunate Palatine of his dominions, was at this time one of the most formidable Princes in Europe, and particularly obnoxious to the English on account of his being the chief supporter of the Church The Kings of France and England, with several of of Rome. the less important European powers, entered into a league against this mighty potentate; and their chief acting warrior was Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. As the King of England had no other object in this war than to recover the dominions of his brother-in-law the Palatine, he did not take a prominent part: he even wished to avoid the appearance of being a party in the league. On this account, he prevailed upon the Marquis of Hamilton, who was his Chief Councillor for the management of Scotland, to raise six thousand men in that country, and lead them into Germany, as upon a private adventure of his own. This was a service peculiarly agreeable to the Scoth, both on account of the object of the war, and as it gave employment to the smaller gentry, who are always a surplus population. The Marquis, therefore, found no difficulty in raising the necessary forces. Their arrival on the banks of the Oder, by causing a division of the Imperial Army, contributed at the very first to the success of the Protestant cause: in so far as it enabled the troops of Gustavus to gain the decisive victory of Leipsic, by which the whole of the German Empire, from the Baltic to the Rhine, from the mouth of the Oder to the source of the Danube. was opened to the career of the victorious Swede. The Scottish brigades afterwards distinguished themselves very highly in this war, and were frequently recruited by fresh levies from their own country. It may be remarked that the national disposition for foreign adventure had before this time displayed itself as conspicuously in commerce as it now did in war. Previous to the union of the two crowns under King James, a great number of individuals had gone to the continent, where they rivalled the Jews as a migratory species of traffickers—in other words, as pedlars—an employment for which the genius of the nation seems to have been at all times peculiarly adapted. It is affirmed by Bacon that two hundred thousand Scotch families had emigrated to Livonia alone, before the accession of King Charles; which, if true even in a hundredth part of its extent, would still argue very strongly the restless character of the people.

The early years of King Charles's reign were signalised by the struggles which he had to maintain with his Parliament. This part of the English Government was originally called up by the kings, merely as the organ for supplying them with money from the people. In the course of time, their command of the purse of the nation gave them a power over the King. In the present age, many of the Members of Parliament were of opinion that the degree of power habitually exercised by the King was too Others were religious enthusiasts, who censured the King's Government on account of the protection given to the moderate church established by law, and also for its leniency to the Papists. Hence, it soon became apparent that the King would be unable to conduct the State much longer on the accustomed principles, unless he could contrive to do without his Parliament. This he resolved to do in 1629, trusting to the power of his proclamations for the raising of all subsequent taxes.

While he was thus exciting the discontent of the English, he offended the Scotch almost as deeply by compelling those who were in possession of the old Church tithes and benefices, either to sell them to him at low prices, or else to secure their permanent possession by a gradual purchase, in order that he might the better endow the unpopular Church now established. In the year 1633, he paid a visit to this part of his dominions, for the double purpose of completing those arrangements, and to undergo the ceremony of his coronation as King of Scotland. He was respectfully received by the nobility, whose affection to the ancient race of their monarchs was revived in his favour: the people also beheld their youthful Sovereign with much regard. In Parliament, however, when he demanded the ratification of the ecclesiastical arrangements, the discontent was very apparent. The people also were shocked by his ordering a set of vestments for the various ranks of the clergy, similar to those used in England.

Charles, though successful in his object, was dissatisfied with his Scottish journey, on account of the resistance he had met with. Soon after, a petition against the ecclesiastical arrangements, which had been prepared for the malcontent nobility, but never presented, was discovered in the possession of Lord Balmerino. Charles, selecting this nobleman for an example of vengeance, caused him to be tried on an old Scottish law, for having possessed a libel calculated to raise discontent in the King's subjects, without denouncing it to the proper authorities. By the most iniquitous arts, his condemnation was procured: he was adjudged to die the death of a traitor.

The people were dreadfully inflamed by this transaction; and, though the King did not dare to put the sentence in execution, they never forgot it. The very consciousness that their united indignation had deterred the Monarch from his purpose, gave them a confidence in themselves, which was apt to be very fatal to the Sovereign in less questionable exertions of his power.

Hitherto, the innovations of the Scottish Church had referred exclusively to the clergy; no attempt had as yet been made to alter the simple mode of worship established at the Reformation: The people, though deeply indignant at the introduction of an episcopalian system of church-government, had submitted to it with some degree of patience, so long as their own express way of offering up their devotions was not intruded upon; but now they were to be attacked on this point also. Charles, and his chief counsellor, Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, saw with regret that the English Puritans had great advantage in their assaults upon Church and State, from the example of the national system of worship established in Scotland. They saw it to be necessary that the religion of the two countries should be completely assimilated. Ignorant to a considerable degree of the character of the Scottish people, and encouraged in their wishes by a new and more zealous race of bishops which had latterly come into power in Scotland, they caused a book of canonsthat is, a system of ecclesiastical observances—to be forced upon the Scottish Church. They next caused a liturgy or book of common prayer to be fabricated for Scotland, and commanded it to be read in all churches: a measure which aimed at the utter overturn of the existing mode of worship. To a pious people, who looked upon a regular ritual of set prayers as akin to Popery. or at least as a cold and dull expedient, compared with the searching and exciting power of extemporary prayer, nothing could have been more intolerable than such a decree.

The 23rd of July 1637, was the day appointed for the commencement of the new worship; but, except some of the bishops themselves, scarcely any minister ventured to produce the detested volume. On its being read in the Cathedral Church at Edinburgh, a dreadful tumult arose among the people, especially the women, and a storm of stools and clasped-bibles assailed the head of the Dean. Not a word of the service could be heard. The Bishop, who was present, ascended the upper pulpit, to try if he could quiet the people; but a stool aimed at him by a virago named Janet Geddes, admonished him at once of the danger and the inutility of his attempt. Amidst the hubbub were heard the exclamations. "A pope, a pope! Antichrist! Stone him, stone him!" The magistrates, who were present, along with many of the officers of state, but whose presence served nothing to awe the people, at length were obliged to clear the church by force; after which the service proceeded. The Bishop, in walking home to his lodgings, was attacked by the mob, and put into imminent danger of his life. In the afternoon, the service was performed with guarded doors; and was followed by another riot upon the street, in which the person of the Bishop was once more endangered. It is remarkable that none but the meanest people were concerned in the tumults; the ring-leaders, indeed, were only servant-women. It was supposed, however, that they had been put forward to act in this manner by persons of higher station. The women took the lead in a similar riot at Glasgow. The bishops suspended those clergymen who had not read the service in their churches; and endeavoured to enforce the Order of Council, which enjoined each parish minister to buy a copy, under pain of being considered a rebel; but they failed entirely in producing obedience. Afraid and unwilling to inform the King of the amount of the resistance, they represented it to him as a paltry riot, in which only a few of the rabble were concerned; he therefore did not think it necessary to retrace his steps. This was a fatal point; for the resistance, fully called into action by the continued grievance, soon reached a degree of strength which made concession impossible.

In August, four of the clergy petitioned the Privy Council for a suspension of the order to read the liturgy. The members of this supreme body, though in the employ of government, were generally infected by the prevailing antipathy to the new worship. As secular nobles, too, they bore no good will to the bishops, who, besides taking precedence of them in parliamentary rank, had lately been intruded by the King into several state offices which only the lay nobility were wont to fill. Hence they thought proper to grant the desired suspension. Thus encouraged, many more of the clergy, many nobles, and a vast number of private gentry and citizens, came boldly forward to resist the liturgy. The whole country seemed to rise against it; the people animated by sincere piety, and the aristocracy by hatred of an upstart set of clergy, dignified and beneficed, as they thought, at their expense.

At this time, both in England and on the continent, Scotland was looked upon as a poor remote country, virtually but a province of the southern kingdom, and possessing no political importance on its own account. While Turkey, Poland, and even more distant states, had each its column in the small gazettes then published, Scotland could not boast of so much as a corner. It may, therefore, be supposed, that when the country assumed an attitude of resistance, it would be some time ere the the world would allow full credence or full importance to the fact. Charles, perhaps, was not more easily convinced than the public at large. He had been accustomed to regard Scotland as a province which must yield to the power of the larger kingdom of England. It never occurred to him that this part of his dominions could become in any way formidable in itself. managed it by means of a single confidential Scottish nobleman at his own court; and perhaps, in the pressure of more important concerns he took little pains to make himself acquainted with the condition of the country. On the present occasion, there were not only the interested views of the bishops to prevent him from getting this information very readily, but the difficulty and

slowness of all vehicles of intelligence were also grievously adverse to his interest. A petition of representation, sent off by his malcontent subjects, could not well be answered in less than a month, and during that time the resistance was always gaining strength and consistency.

Several communications of this kind passed between Charles and his subjects during the autumn. To each supplication was returned but one answer, a command that the liturgy should be used, and that the petitioners collected at Edinburgh should disperse. Dispersion was out of the question; for the crowds consisted of men of all ranks and from all parts of the country. and the Privy Council, even if willing, had no standing force to second their orders. The utmost that they could do was to enter into an accommodation with the multitude, by which it was agreed, for the convenience of all parties, that the people should keep four standing committees at Edinburgh, to transact the business of their petitions, while the rest went to their respective homes: but still a considerable number of noblemen, with their retainers, continued to reside in Edinburgh. Perhaps the King and Council rather lost than gained by this arrangement; for the committees, or tables, as they were called, gradually became a kind of separate and opposing government, which defied dissolution.

At length, in February 1638, the King, losing all patience with his Scottish subjects, sent down a proclamation, commanding the enforcement of the new style of worship, and denouncing all who gainsaid it as liable to a charge of treason. This was read at the cross of Stirling; but the leaders of the committees immediately after made a protest against it, and showed by their numbers that they were prepared to offer a steady resistance. On the same ceremony being performed at Edinburgh, no fewer than sixteen noblemen appeared on an open scaffold, to give their authority to the protest.

Things were now come to such a crisis as to render it necessary, for the safety of individuals, that the whole resisting force should be consolidated. Of old, there was a custom in Scotland among nobles and chiefs of clans, by which they bound themselves in what was called a bond of man-rent, to protect each

other in certain enterprises, or factious purposes, against all other force whatsoever. At the Reformation, the faction which patronised the new doctrines found it necessary to associate themselves in this manner against the existing government; but, as the business was sacred, the bond was called by the scriptural name of a Covenant. This document had been several times renewed by the leaders of the Scottish Church. It was now revived by the tables, with additions applicable to the existing circumstances, and presented for signature to the assembled heads of the nation in Edinburgh. The exigency of the time rendered it highly acceptable. It was sworn to and signed by rapturous multitudes; and then sent, in various copies, to every district throughout the country. As its purport was to unite the people in an effort to maintain the "true religion of the gospel" against popery and all human inventions; and as it artfully professed a zealous attachment to the King, it was everywhere well received, with the solitary exception of Aberdeen. The bishops, seeing how completely it destroyed their power, retired from the scene of public exertion, acknowledging that in a few days the whole labour of thirty years had been destroyed.

In ordinary circumstances, Scotland could not have thus ventured to rebel against the King of Great Britain. The people, however, were quite aware of the disaffection which prevailed throughout England on points similar to those which had stirred up themselves, and calculated securely upon the difficulty which Charles would have in raising or supporting an army against them. In their own country no adverse force was dreaded, unless the Marquises of Huntly and Douglas, who were Catholics, should be able to muster their retainers in behalf of the King.

Charles did not yet despair of subduing them; but he knew it would require time to raise an army. To divert them in the meanwhile, he sent the Marquis of Hamilton to treat with them. Hamilton approached Edinburgh on the 9th of June; and was met in the vicinity by about sixty thousand persons, including no fewer then seven hundred clergymen. On finding that the King, before giving them any assurance, required them to renounce the Covenant, they declared all negotiation vain. Nothing less would

satisfy them than the abolition of the liturgy, the book of canons, and the Court of High Commission; with a free General Assembly and Parliament to settle all further controversies.

Hamilton twice went to London and returned, on the pretence of endeavouring to obtain their demands, but in reality to allow the King time to prepare an army against them. At length, was found necessary, for the sake of gaining further time, to gratify them by proclaiming a General Assembly for the ensuing November.

This important convocation sat in the cathedral of Glasgow, and Hamilton was appointed to preside as King's Commissioner. The hopes of the Covenanters had now risen; allowed by royal authority to sit in an essentially Presbyterian form, the sense of independence returned upon them in full strength. They proceeded to put Episcopacy and its officers upon trial, and, as may easily be guessed, were at no loss in finding the whole system at fault. Hamilton, according to instructions which he had received from the King, protested against this procedure, and retired from the Assembly; a step which Charles expected would gain him friends in England. After he had gone, the Assembly, with the greatest confidence, voted the abolition of the Episcopal innovations of the last two reigns, and at once reduced the Church to its primitive form. The moderator, or president, on this occasion, was Alexander Henderson, Minister of Leuchars, in Fife, who had been the first man of public character to appear in resistance to the service-book. He pronounced the elegy of Episcopacy in these words, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho: let him that rebuildeth them, beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

An act so much in opposition to the will of the King, and carried into effect against the express protest of his representative, could only be considered as a declaration of war. So early as the time of the Covenant, the leading Presbyterians had been furnishing their houses with warlike stores. They now openly proceeded with military preparations. Collections of money were made throughout the country; their numerous fellow-countrymen, in Holland and elsewhere, sent their contributions of arms and ammunition; one rich citizen of Edinburgh.

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VOL. II.

lent them eleven thousand pounds; and they were unexpectedly, but secretly, supplied with another large sum by the Cardinal Richelieu, the chief manager of affairs in France, who took this mode of revenging certain public measures which Charles had recently adopted against him. For the discipline and command of the Scottish levies, a great number of veteran officers were invited over from the national brigades in Germany. A generalissimo was found in this quarter, in the person of Alexander Leslie, a Scottish officer of great military talents and experience. By the aid of these individuals, they contrived, in March 1639, to surprise all the royal forts throughout the kingdom within the course of three days.

Charles found great difficulty in raising an army. The puritanical religion of a great portion of his subjects, which led them to sympathise with the Scottish Presbyterians, and the adverse politics of many others, who hoped to see the rebellion in Scotland reduce the power of the King, left him hardly any resource except the attachment of the clergy and the immediate dependents of his court. It was only with the greatest difficulty that, in the spring of 1639, he had collected an army of sixteen thousand men, with a small fleet, to be sent into the Firth of Forth. His only other hope lay in the assistance and cooperation of a small Catholic and Episcopal force, which the Marquis of Huntly was to bring down from the north, and in an invasion of the west coast of Scotland, which was to be executed by the Earl of Antrim from Ireland.

The campaign was opened in May. Charles led his small army to the borders near Berwick, and encamped at a place called the Birks, on the right bank of the Tweed. General Leslie moved forward with about twelve thousand, and pitched his camp on an eminence called Dunse Law, twelve miles from the Birks, so as to protect both roads to Edinburgh. The Earl of Argyle, the principal noble embarked in the cause, was stationed with his Highland retainers to await the descent of the Irish; and the Earl of Montrose, who was second in influence, moved towards the north, to oppose the movement under Huntly. At the same time a large body of militia lined the shores of the Firth of Forth, to meet the invasion of the English fleet.

The army on Dunse Law was the most devout and orderly ever perhaps known in European warfare. Every morning an evening the drums collected the soldiers to public prayers. Throughout the whole day the tents resounded with the private aspirations of individuals and small companies. The officers alternately employed themselves in exercising the soldiers in religious and military duty. Ministers, with swords by their sides, were preaching at all times and seasons. Scarcely an oath or profane word was ever heard: the usual vices of camps were unknown. At the door of each colonel's tent was displayed a flag, bearing the Scottish arms, and the inscription "For Christ's crown and Covenant."

The whole of the royal preparations were found unavailing against this national enthusiasm. The Marquis of Hamilton, who conducted the fleet into the Firth of Forth, found his men so sick, and his opponents on shore so resolute, that he did not venture to land. Even his mother had armed herself in the general enthusiasm, and, riding down to the shore at Leith, threatened to be the first to fire at him, if he should dare to set a hostile foot upon his native soil. The Earl of Montrose was highly successful in the north: he first inveigled Huntly into his hands, and conducted him prisoner to Edinburgh, and then he suppressed an insurrection which was raised by the Lord Aboyne, second son of that nobleman. The Irish invasion completely failed. Neither did the King find his army so warm in his cause, as to induce him to hazard a battle with General Leslie.

Under these circumstances, Charles saw the necessity of a pacification. In consequence of a hint thrown out by one of his pages, who had liberty to visit his Scotch friends, a correspondence was opened between the hostile camps. Commissioners were then appointed to meet, and settle upon a treaty of peace. Charles himself attended their sittings, and personally expressed to the leading Covenanters his desire of being again on good terms with his ancient paternal kingdom. The Scotch demanded three things—the ratification of the acts of the late General Assembly, which involved the abolition of Episcopacy; the restitution of their ships and goods seized by the King; and the

punishment of the royal ministers and advisers, whom they affected to look upon as the sole causes of the war. Charles demurred to these requests; and it was eventually agreed that all matters of dispute should be referred to a new General Assembly and Parliament, which were appointed to meet in August. The two armies were then dissolved.

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES I. CONTINUED-THE CIVIL WAR.

THE King now adopted a new policy with the turbulent people of Scotland. It is consistent with the self-love of a King who. by mismanagement, has brought his people into a state of resistance, to suppose that it is not so much the discontent of the mass, as the ambition of the leaders, that causes the insurrection. In reality, the leaders, with all their ambition, are but the creation of the mass; beings called into existence, or at least into action, by the general sentiment. Charles, overlooking the radical evils altogether, thought that he should overcome all opposition if he only could gain over the nobles who had hitherto taken the lead. He accordingly called a number of them to his court at Berwick, and, by blandishments and promises, endeavoured to make them his own partizans. He was successful only with the Earl of Montrose, an ambitious and unscrupulous person, though of great abilities, who was already dissatisfied on account of the ascendancy of the Earl of Argyle. Montrose is henceforth found at the head of a royalist party, which gradually began to assume a substantial appearance in the country.

The General Assembly sat at Edinburgh on the 6th of August. The members, pledged at their nomination to sustain the acts of the Assembly of last year, voted to a man for the abolition of Episcopacy. The Earl of Traquair, who acted as the King's Commissioner, to the surprise of all, gave a ready assent to the act: making, however, a secret protest, in order to leave the King at liberty afterwards to annul the whole proceedings.

The Parliament then met for the purpose of confirming the act. At the very commencement of business, a difficulty was found in the want of the bishops, who, as one of the three estates, had a privilege in naming the leading committee, called the Lords of the Articles. The Covenanters proposed that their place should henceforth be supplied by the order of persons styled the lesser barons. They also attempted to bring forward a great number of other acts infringing upon the royal prerogative, and one in particular for annulling all former acts in favour of Episcopacy. Traquair was unable singly to oppose such a storm of popular force, and could devise no expedient but to prorogue the Parliament. This step was approved of by the King.

The Covenanters, thus finding their great object still unperfected, saw no other course than to renew hostilities. Charles was equally anxious to put the quarrel once more to the arbitration of the sword. Having intercepted a letter from the covenanting leaders to the King of France, imploring assistance. he endeavoured to make them appear to his English subjects as traitors to the country. In order to raise money, he reluctantly called a Parliament, the first that had assembled for ten years. He also called a convocation of the clergy. The Parliament, instead of gratifying his wishes, annoyed him with complaints as to his recent conduct and policy. He was obliged to dissolve it. The clergy, as was to be expected, proved more obedient: they sat for some time after the Parliament, and gratified him with a considerable subsidy. The dissolution of the Parliament, which had been confidently looked to for redress, incensed the nation to a great and alarming degree.

The Scottish Parliament was to meet again, in the terms of the prorogation, on June 2, 1640; but Charles transmitted an order to renew the prorogation. This was declared informal in some minor point, and accordingly the Parliament assembled. Disregarding the want of a royal commissioner, they chose a president, and proceeded not only to pass all the acts formerly proposed, but to make arrangements for a new campaign. This assemblage can only be considered in the light of an insurgent council, but it was obviously the best mode of forming a government in opposition to the King. After carrying all immediate

measures into effect, the Parliament deputed its self-assumed powers to a committee, which henceforth conducted all the secular affairs of the country.

In July, the Scottish army again began to assemble. Its arrangements were almost complete before Charles had either procured money, or collected troops. His designs were, to march as formerly at the head of an army to Scotland; to renew the attempt at an invasion from Ireland: and to raise a counterinsurrection in the northern parts of Scotland, by means of his few Episcopal and Catholic adherents. The Scots did not on this occasion wait for his approach. They made bold to enter England. On the 20th of August, they crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, the Earl of Montrose, who was still to appearance their friend, being the first man to plunge into the stream. Advancing through Northumberland, a week's march brought them to a ford upon the Tyne, a few miles above Newcastle. The royal army was now rendezvoused at York; the town of Newcastle was garrisoned; and Lord Conway, the commander of the horse, had resolved to dispute the ford with the Scots. A battery was opened by the English on Stella-haugh; the Scots planted their artillery on the steeple of the town of Newburn, and thus commanded the trenches of their opponents. This, with the superior experience of Leslie, gave the Covenanters a decided advantage. The battery of the English was quickly broken up. A detachment of the Scots crossed the river a little higher up, to take the troops of Lord Conway in flank. At the same time, the Scottish battery turned its fire full upon the main body of the enemy. This staggered the English army, which consisted chiefly of gentlemen and their servants, who had never before been in action. The Scots took advantage of their indecision, crossed the river in full force, and soon put the whole of the opposing host to flight. But for the stand made by a small party of Royalist gentry, a great part of the army would have been cut to pieces or taken prisoners. The horse retired to Durham, the infantry to Newcastle; and the Scots encamping on the right bank of the river, gained possession of Newcastle next day.

This success was followed up by the capture of Shields.

Tynemouth, and even Durham; and news at the same time arrived of the seizure of Dumbarton Castle by their friends in Scotland, and of the suppression of the northern insurgents by General Munro and the Earl of Argyle. The King had calculated that the invasion of the Scots would have roused the national feelings of the English; but religious and political sympathy had for a time extinguished the old animosities of the two countries. The Scots, before entering England, had sent before them a paper, which was very widely circulated, declaring that their sole objects were to displace the King's evil counsellors, and obtain a proper settlement of religion: they scrupulously disclaimed everything like hostility to the English as a nation. They now took care to prove the purity of their intentions, by abstaining from all invasion of private property, except exactions upon the Catholics of the northern counties—a party then held as the enemies of all others, and generally charged with the blame of supporting the King in the present war.

The King's military preparations were effectually checked by the successes of the Scots. Instead of wishing to fight, his soldiers, if not also his officers, were disposed to look upon the invaders as their best friends. Indeed it is now ascertained that the leading Covenanters had received invitations to enter England. from many of the principal nobility. The King and his advisers again found the necessity of a pacification. He opened a new correspondence with the Scottish leaders. The demands of the Covenanters were, that the acts passed in the late irregular session of Parliament should be ratified, that compensation should be made for the losses and expenses of the nation in this campaign, and the stigma of 'traitors,' which had been affixed upon them by royal proclamation, taken off. In the course of the negociation which followed, the Covenanters discovered the treachery of Montrose, and put him under arrest. It was found that, a few weeks before, he had formed a species of counter-covenant, to which he secretly procured the accession of several of the chief nobility, who, like himself, were dissatisfied with the places assigned to them, or perhaps thought that their brethren were pressing too hard upon the royal authority. Convinced by this of the fickle nature of

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revolutionary power, the Scottish leaders were the more readily disposed to enter into an accommodation with the King. It was finally determined in a council of peers called by King Charles, that the national grievances should be again referred to a Parlisment; and, as the patriots of both nations thought it necessary to keep up the Scottish army as a compulsory force to overawe the King, it was agreed to borrow money for supporting it at the rate of £850 a day, till such time as all matters should be fully settled. All the advantage that could be desired was thus gained over the King. Not provided with any military force himself, he could offer no resistance to his armed subjects.

The English Parliament met in November, and immediately commenced a series of measures for effectually and permanently abridging the royal authority. There was even a large party, who contemplated the total abolition of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic. Religion was to appearance the moving-spring of the Revolution. The destruction of the Episcopal system was anxiously desired by an immense party, who conceived that large benefices, and a connection with the State, were incompatible with pure religion. All were alike furious against the Catholics, but evidently not so much from a sincere fear of that body of Christians, as the conveniency of setting them up for the objects of popular alarm, and making all revolutionary acts appear as only so many necessary safeguards against their machinations. In reality, the Catholics appear to have been in this age a moderate and quiet race, severely persecuted by their fellow-Christians, but no otherwise entitled to odium than in as far as they had been the objects of an enlightened toleration to the present and late Sovereigns.

The first acts of the Parliament had little or no immediate reference to Scotland. The Earl of Strafford, one of the principal advisers of the King, was accused of treason against the liberties of the people, and afterwards executed. William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, another zealous councillor, was impeached and imprisoned, but reserved for future vengeance. The remaining ministers of the King only saved themselves by flight. Some of the judges were imprisoned and fined. The abolition of Episcopacy was taken into consideration. The Catholics fell.

under a severe persecution; and even the person of the Queen, who belonged to this faith, was not considered safe. Some of the measures taken by the Parliament seemed highly justifiable, as calculated to prevent the recurrence of such miseries as had been occasioned during recent years by the excessive power of the King; but it must be acknowledged that in others they went a great deal too far on the opposite course, and, in general, the religious sentiments which animated them were of an illiberal and unamiable kind.

It was not till August 1641, when the English Parliament had gained many of its objects, that they permitted the treaty of peace with Scotland to be fully ratified. They then gratified the troops, not only with their full pay at the rate of £850 a day, but with a vote of no less a sum than £300,000 besides, of which £80,000 was paid down, as an indirect way of furnishing their party with the means of future resistance. The King, on his part, also took measures for gaining the attachment of this formidable body of soldiery, and of the Scottish nation in general. He had agreed to be present at the meeting of the Estates in the autumn of this year. In his journey to the north, he passed through the army at Newcastle, and accepted an invitation to dine with General Leslie. On his arrival at Edinburgh, August 14, he squared his conduct most carefully with the rigour of Presbyterian manners; appointed their chief preacher, Henderson, to be his chaplain, and listened for hours to puritan sermons, in that very Chapel-royal which he and his father had instituted, a few years before, as a model for the Episcopal worship. In the Parliament he was equally complaisant: he at once ratified all the acts of the preceding irregular session; he yielded up the right of appointing the State officers of Scotland; and he ordained that the Scottish Parliament should meet once every three years without regard to his will—an immense point in the claims of freedom. The men who had acted most conspicuously against him in the late insurrections now became his chief counsellors, and he seemed to bestow favours upon them exactly in proportion to their enmities. He created General Leslie Earl of Leven. putting on his coronet with his own hand. Argyle was made a Marquis. Many others received promotions in the peerage. The offices of state were distributed amongst them. Henderson, Presbyterian as he was, did not scruple to accept the revenues connected with the former episcopal office of Dean of the Chapel-royal: Gillespie, a preacher only second to him in influence, received a pension in money. Thus, it will be observed, the affections of the Scots were in a manner set up to auction between the King and his English Parliament, and from both did they receive considerable gratifications.

But, while thus intriguing with the covenanting leaders, Charles also kept up a correspondence with that royalist party, which had been embodied by the Earl of Montrose. This nobleman was now suffering confinement in Edinburgh Castle, for his machinations in favour of the King. In the anguish of disappointed ambition, he concocted an enterprise in the old Scottish style against the lives of his political opponents. The King having refused his sanction to the scheme, he seems to have resolved upon executing one of a less ferocious character, without his Majesty's knowledge. The Marquis of Argyle had all along been the prime object of Montrose's antipathy, and the odium was now shared by the Marquis of Hamilton, who at this time held a nearly equal place in the Scottish councils, and by the Earl of Lanark, his younger brother. These three noblemen, Montrose intended to be suddenly seized, and taken on board a vessel in the Firth of Forth. On the same night, his friends were to surprise Edinburgh Castle, and endeavour to bring about a complete revolution in favour of the royal cause. The plot was detected, and the three noblemen retired precipitately to the country. Charles himself was the only person who suffered: the scheme, though probably unknown to him, was universally laid to his charge, and it introduced suspicions of his sincerity, that tended to neutralise the effects of his late favours, and also to afford matter of reproach to the English Parliament, who had of course viewed his journey to Scotland with great iealousv.

After spending about three months in Scotland, Charles was suddenly called away, in consequence of intelligence which reached him from Ireland. The Catholics of that country, who formed the great majority of the population, and had for many years

groaned under the oppression of the English Protestants, became infected by the example of Scottish Covenanters, and resolved that they would also endeavour to obtain toleration and equal rights. Their proceedings led to an intestine war, during which the greatest cruelties were perpetrated on both sides. Though the poor Irish were struggling for both national and religious freedom, they gained no sympathy from the patriots of Britain. These patriots, on the contrary, pressed the King to suppress the Irish rebellion, being afraid that a religious toleration in that country would be inconsistent with the same privileges in their own. The Scottish Covenanters immediately sent over a large body of troops to assist in rivetting those bonds upon the Irish from which they themselves were just emancipated. It is by such traits of exclusive feeling that the religious sects of this age diminish their title to the sympathy of an enlightened posterity; for it is invariably found that the persecuted became the persecutor, whenever it obtained an ascendancy.

When Charles returned to London he found the Parliament in no pleasant temper. The leading men in this body were now alarmed for their personal safety. They saw the royal prerogative to appearance prostrate before them; but the late efforts of Charles to muster a party, combined with their suspicions as to the attempt upon the Lords in Scotland, showed but too plainly that things could not stand where they were; and they felt assured that, in the event of a full resumption of the royal authority, they must submit to the fate which they had already awarded to their opponents. Thus, though enough had been done for the assurance of liberty, it became necessary that the struggle should be continued till the liberators were also assured of safety.

The temper of the Commons was shown by their proceedings after the King's return. By way of rousing the feelings of the country in their behalf, they published a paper called a Remonstrance, in which were detailed all the grievances already abrogated, together with a long string of others which, it was said, still remained to be weeded away by the wisdom of Parliament. They also impeached and imprisoned twelve of the bishops, thereby, of course, frightening away the rest. They even talked

of impeaching the Queen, whose sole fault was her attachment to the proscribed religion of Rome. Finally, they commenced a struggle with the King for the command of the army; a privilege which at all times has necessarily belonged to the crown, but which these men asserted to be expressly necessary for their own protection.

Charles, on the other hand, resolved to make a desperate attempt at punishing a few of the leaders, in order to intimidate the rest. On the 4th of January 1642, he suddenly entered the House of Commons, and demanded the persons of six members, Lord Kimbolton, Hollis, Pym, Haslerigge, Hampden, and Stroud, whom he accused of high treason. They had escaped beforehand, in consequence of secret information; and he had to retire without gaining his object. This incident served to excite the public feeling in behalf of the Parliament, and against the monarch.

The exasperation of parties had now reached such a height, that their respective adherents had daily conflicts in the streets of London. It was evident that a civil war must take place—not so much to settle the national liberties, for they were already settled as far as the existing sovereign could settle them, and the people at large would have now rested content, as to decide the personal struggle for existence, which had commenced between the King and his friends on the one hand, and the Parliament on the other. Thus, after a nation has fully wrought out its liberties without bloodshed, it may be dragged into a war by the small party of individuals whom accident or ambition have put into the more conspicuous situations.

The King reared his standard at Nottingham, on the 25th of August, 1642. He was supported by a great proportion of the landed interest, and of the provincial population in general; while the Parliament chiefly depended upon the commercial population of the capital and other large towns. On the one side were ranged loyalty to the King, attachment to the Church, and that principle of the human breast which delights in institutions that have been and are. On the other, stood zeal for a more enthusiastic and speculative system of devotion, and that principle which causes men to strain after an ideal perfection in government, in favour of which they despise all institutions that have hithertoness.

existed. The King, on the one hand, got friends by arguing upon the mischievous enthusiasm of his opponents; the Parliament, on the other, exerted itself to keep up the fervour of popular feeling in its own behalf, by endeavouring to prove the rooted designs of the King against English liberty, by propagating the most false reports about himself and his adherents, and sounding a constant alarm as to the danger in which religion was supposed to stand, from the machinations of the Catholics and high Episcopalians. The Parliament supported its troops partly by taxes, but chiefly by the confiscation of the property of the royalists: the forces of the King were principally gentry and their retainers, who maintained themselves; other expenses he supported by the sale of his crown jewels. There was much superstitious fanaticism on both sides: the King believed that God would never suffer rebellion to prosper; and the Parliament. also trusting that their cause was the cause of God, were equally sure that it would triumph through Divine aid. It is amusing to observe how much they were respectively puzzled, when fortune happened to declare against them. Instead of seeking for the source of the disaster in some misconduct or mishap, some shortcoming of men, or bullets, or courage, they searched back into their private conduct, to find if it lay in any late remissness in their devotions.

The first campaign was favourable to the royal arms. The battles of Edge-hill and Brentford, with several minor actions, threw the whole of the centre and west of England into the power of the King. The Parliament, humbled by these reverses, attempted to effect a pacification; but it was broken off by a few leaders who had reason to despair of a personal accommodation with the King. These men resolved to restore the balance of force, by intreating the aid of their brethren in Scotland.

Since the fulfilment of all their desires in 1641, the Scottish people had remained perfectly at rest, though in a state of great anxiety as to the result of the contest in England. For their own part they had no reason to take up arms; the King had not left them a single grievance unobliterated. The fear, however, that the triumph of the King over the Parliament would enable him to revoke all his concessions, pointed out that it was necessions.

sary for them to ensure their safety by aiding the opposite side. Thus were the gifts which Charles gave in a spirit of insincerity, repaid by a policy of nearly as doubtful a character.

The anxiety of the English to obtain this alliance was scarcely so great as that of the Scots to give it. In the English Parliament, there were many men who despised the Scots, because, in their attachment to a particular form of Church-government, lay the whole of their reasons for insurrection. These men, who were called Independents, contemplated a republic in the State, and a perfect absence of all system in religion. They dreaded to call in a set of allies, whose enthusiasm in favour of a particular form of Church-government, not to speak of their scruples in behalf of monarchy, might afterwards lead to inconvenience. The reluctance of this party, together with some considerations as to the expense of maintaining a Scottish auxiliary army, had hitherto prevented any application, however much it was desired by the Scots.

It was only when the successes of the King had seemed to render it unavoidable, that the Parliament opened up their negociation in the north. Four commissioners, Vane, Darley, Armyne, and Hatcher, arrived in Edinburgh, July 1643, and as the Parliament could not legally sit for another year to come, a convention was called, in order to effect the treaty. The Scots, ever since their invasion of the north of England, had been inspired with a keen desire of extending their system of worship to that country; and the destruction of the English hierarchy had seemed to render such an object highly feasible. The puritans of the south were nearly akin to themselves; of course, when the puritans triumphed, it was natural to hope that the Scottish Church, or something like it, would be established in place of that which was destroyed. It was partly sincere fervour on this point, and partly the absolute necessity of preventing the return of King Charles to full power, that actuated the Scots in their desire to aid the English Parliament.

At the first, they were for making the adoption of their Church in England a fundamental part of the treaty; but to this the English Independents would not consent, and they were at last obliged to content themselves with a stipulation, that religion in England should be established "after the models of the best Reformed Churches."

The treaty was put into a highly religious and solemn form. It contained, in the first place, the document called the National Covenant, which had been signed by the Scottish people, for the defence of their religion, in 1638. It also included a paction of the two nations, to unite in rooting out the Catholic religion. And not only was it to be signed by the diplomatic representatives of the two countries, but by the people at large. The Solems League and Covenant, as it was called, is a document that will mark, to latest time, the power which religious feeling may exert in overcoming one of the strongest sentiments—national antipathy. An alliance was temporarily secured, by means of this treaty, between two nations, which, for ages before, and almost for ages after, were "wide as the Poles asunder."

In the terms of the League, the Scotch raised an army of twenty-one thousand, which the English Parliament was to pay at the rate of sixpence a day for each foot-soldier, and a shilling for each horseman. In the mustering of the troops, the preachers were chiefly instrumental. Leslie, though, on receiving his coronet, he had promised King Charles never more to fight against him, took the command; and the army moved forward in the very depth of winter, through snow which reached to the knees.

Meanwhile, both houses of the English Parliament solemnly ratified the League. They at the same time convoked an assembly of divines at Westminster, to concoct a new Church in place of the old. To this several of the Scottish ministers were invited.

The Scottish army did not at first fulfil the hopes that had been formed of it. It spent three weeks ineffectually in attempting to take Newcastle. After abandoning the siege, it was shut up in its quarters, at Sunderland, for five weeks, by the Marquis of Newcastle, whom it had just before been besieging. At length, effecting a junction with a detachment of the Parliamentary army under Fairfax, it sat down before York, which the King endeavoured to relieve by an army under his nephew, Prince Rupert. Charles was of opinion, that the defeat of this

combined army and the relief of York, were two points most essential to his fortunes, and he took care to impress Rupert with his own sentiments. Unfortunately, this young generalissimo had scarcely any military qualification besides courage. On the first of July, 1644, he engaged the united armies at Long Marston Moor. His right wing broke the left of the Scots at the first charge, and it is said that the Earl of Leven, who commanded in that quarter, did not stop till he was seized in far and solitary flight by an ordinary constable. The right wing of the Scots was in the same way successful against the left of the English. In those days, the different parts of an army had no principle of movement after the first charge. Each did its best, and left its neighbours to do the same. Thus, after the right wing of the two armies had respectively chased their opponents for several miles, they were surprised, on returning to the field of battle, to find that a second contest remained to be decided. In this collision the Royalists were defeated with great loss. Upwards of four thousand men were slain; the royal train of artillery and fifteen hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the combined army. This victory, which closed the active career of the Scottish forces, was the first decisive blow that had yet been struck against the King's cause, and it was never retrieved.

CHAPTER IV.

CIVIL WAR-MONTROSE'S CAMPAIGN-EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.

ONE bright but evanescent gleam of success cheered the royal cause just as it was sinking. The Earl of Montrose had hitherto signalized himself by efforts, which, though well meant, had rather injured than advanced the interests of the King. Charles, from the period of his visit to Scotland in 1641, had trusted more to the indecisive councils of Hamilton than to the bold measures proposed by Montrose. Some real or suspected treachery, on Hamilton's part, at length caused him, in the end of

 1643, to throw that nobleman into prison, and to receive Montrose into high favour.

The march of the Scottish army into England seemed to hold out good prospects of raising a Royalist insurrection in the north. Montrose, dignified with the title of Marquis and the rank of Lieutenant-General, left the King for this purpose in April 1644. He entered Dumfriesshire with a small party, but being disappointed of an accession of force which was promised from Ireland by the Earl of Antrim, was speedily obliged to withdraw. Then, changing his project, he penetrated the country in disguise, and with a single attendant, succeeded in reaching the Highlands, where he soon heard that a party of about fifteen hundred Irish were advancing, in order to put themselves under his guidance.

Scotland at this time lay in a very defenceless state. In the absence of the army in England, there only remained some large bodies of raw militia to protect the country—besides the formidable character which the insurgent government had gained by its severity. It was Montrose's first object, with the force he had, to strike some sudden and decisive blow against the ruling body, so as to encourage the cavalier gentry to join in his enterprise.

At the end of August, he burst in a cloud of smoke and flame upon the Lowlands. To his small band of Irish, he added, as he went along, several detachments of Perthshire Highlanders. Against this host, which seemed to have sprung from the ground, Lord Elcho mustered the Fife militia at Perth. Montrose ranked up his half-armed and half-clothed troops on Tippermuir, and Elcho came to meet him. Having no horse to cover his flanks, and only one round of ammunition for the armed part of his troops, the royalist general determined on deciding the action at once by a vigorous charge. In executing this, it is said that many of his men had no other weapons than large stones. Their savage appearance, however, made up for many defects. The tamespirited militia turned from the charge and fled; Montrose's soldiers, picking up their weapons, cut them down in great numbers as they ran, and the slaughter was only stayed at Perth, which immediately surrendered to the victors.

Though flushed with this success, and provided with full vol. 11.

military stores, Montrose did not think himself able to face a second body of militia, which his rival Argyle, now Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, was leading against him from the West Highlands. He resolved first to rouse the Angus and Aberdeenshire royalists. Followed at some distance by Argyle, he marched into the former of these two provinces, and was joined by the Earl of Airly and various other distinguished persons, along with their retainers. His army, however, suffered much on the other hand from the withdrawal of many of the Highlanders to deposit their booty. Lord Burleigh had collected a body of militia to protect Aberdeen. Montrose, fearing that it might join with Argyle, was obliged to offer it battle. The action took place on a field two miles west from the city. Two large squadrons of horse, which Burleigh successively directed against the various wings of the royalist army, were successively beat off by about forty horse and a few musketeers, whom Montrose, with marvellous dexterity, shifted from one extremity of his line to the other, in time to protect both. A charge in the style of Tippermuir, then completed the victory. Montrose obtained possession of Aberdeen, which he gave up to spoliation and massacre.

Still unprepared to meet Argyle, he thought it necessary to march into the country of the Gordons, in the expectation of increasing his army. That clan, though at heart zealous in the royal cause, was prevented from acceding to his wishes, partly by dislike to one who had formerly been instrumental in taking prisoner their chief, the Marquis of Huntly, and partly on account of a jealousy as to his commission, which interfered with one possessed by their family leader, as lieutenant of the northern parts of Scotland. Argyle was meanwhile pressing on, and had issued a proclamation putting twenty thousand pounds upon Montrose's head. He was obliged to retire into the Highlands before the face of this formidable enemy.

Having there collected his forces once more, he soon reappeared in the Lowlands of Angus, and still he was followed by the Marquis of Argyle. A second chase, exactly like the first, took place, and at the end of October, the two armies were nearly in the same positions in Aberdeenshire, which they had occupied

a month before. Montrose was obliged to stand upon the defensive at Fyvie Castle, and for several days his cold and formal, if not timid rival, made repeated but unavailing efforts to dislodge him from his position. At length, the approach of winter caused them to give up the campaign by mutual consent. Such of the royalists as had homes in the north of Scotland, retired thither; the remainder accompanied their leader into the central Highlands. Argyle dissolved his army, and went to congratulate the insurgent government at Edinburgh upon his having concluded the war "without bloodshed."

That his subsistence might be no burden to his friends, Montrose now resolved upon a predatory expedition into the territories of Argyle, which were left in a great measure defenceless. In the very depth of winter, the Irishmen and the Athole Highlanders followed him over the snowy and pathless hills into that devoted country. For six weeks they revelled in unlimited spoliation over the far-extending possessions of the Campbells. Every house, except the impregnable castles of the chieftains, was burnt; every four-footed beast eaten, or driven off; every armed enemy slain; all kinds of property destroyed. The Marquis himself was nearly surprised in his castle at Inverary, and only saved himself by a hasty flight in an open boat. At the end of January the royalists retired, sated with spoil and revenge.

As they moved slowly through Lochaber, they were overtaken by intelligence that Argyle was pursuing them with his clan, aided by some forces which had been put under his command by the Scottish Government.

Montrose turned upon this host as a lion turns upon a rash huntsman. By a forced march of amazing difficulty, he was able to surprise Argyle at Inverlochy. The sun which rose on the 2nd of February, 1645, showed to the astonished Campbells an army which they believed to be many miles distant, ready to fall upon their encampment. They hastily put themselves into fighting order, and had hardly completed their arrangements when the Royalists made their attack. One charge sufficed to decide the day. The Campbells, dispirited by the conduct of their leader, who had retired at the first alarm to a barge upon

neighbouring lake, turned and fled. The main body was driven with prodigious slaughter into the lake, and sunk in hundreds around the vessel where their chief had taken up his inglorious position. Montrose's army, which consisted of only fifteen hundred men, is said to have killed fully as many of the enemy, who had originally reckoned double their number. Among the slain were many of the principal leaders of the clan Campbell.

In these singular conflicts the advantage was entirely produced by the vigour of the assault. There was in no case any deliberate fighting worthy of being mentioned. This is proved by the amazingly small losses experienced by Montrose. In the battle of Tippermuir, he is said to have lost only one man; at Inverlochy, only three.

He now moved rapidly along the plains of Moray, spoiling the houses of those who would not join his standard, and plundering the covenanting towns of Cullen and Banff. At Elgin he was joined by Lord Gordon and Lord Lewis Gordon, the eldest and third sons of the Marquis of Huntly, all jealousy being now banished from the minds of this noble cavalier family by the splendour of the late victories. Reinforced by about seven hundred of the clan Gordon, he descended into Angus, taking Dunnottar Castle by the way. A new army, under the charge of an experienced officer named Baillie, was now sent against him. The two. from a mutual respect for each other, moved side by side along the frontier of the Highlands, Baillie reaching Perth, and Montrose arriving at Dunkeld exactly at the same time. Finding the southern and more valuable part of Scotland thus guarded. he made a sudden march upon Dundee, which, on account of its zeal for the Covenant, he gave up to pillage. But while the work of spoliation was at its full height, he was surprised by the sudden approach of General Baillie from Perth. He found it necessary, from the intoxicated state of his men, to make a hasty retreat. With skill, more honourable perhaps than the achievement of a victory, he effected this movement without losing a man, and next morning, after an incredibly long march, was again safe within the range of the Grampians.

The next movement of this extraordinary general was directed against a large body of militia, which was collected in the

neighbourhood of Inverness, under an officer named Sir John Hurry, and which was now harassing the lands of the Gordons. On the 4th of May, he met this host at Auldearn in Nairnshire: his troops were arranged in two wings separated by that village. The village itself he possessed by a small body under the wellknown Alaster Mac Col, or Colkitto, who, during the whole of this campaign, served as his major-general. On the covenanting side were three thousand five hundred foot and six hundred horse. In Montrose's army there were only fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horse; but the name and genius of Montrose made up for all deficiencies. The Covenanters, making an attack upon his centre, got involved in the defiles of the village; he then closed in upon them with his wings, in which consisted the whole strength of his army. The covenanting horse, which were ordered by Hurry to meet his attack, wheeled by mistake in a contrary direction; and, as usual, the battle was resolved into a panic flight, in which the royalists cut down hundreds of unresisting enemies. The wreck of the covenanting army retired to Inverness.

Again Montrose was let loose upon the province of Moray, to plunder and destroy the property of his political enemies. He now caused the towns of Cullen and Garmouth to be burnt. General Baillie, who had followed him from Perth, suddenly advanced with about two thousand men to offer him battle. Weakened by the withdrawal of the Highlanders, who always went home after a battle to deposit their plunder, Montrose was obliged to retire before the enemy. He retreated into the Highlands, to recruit his ranks, and then suddenly re-appeared, July 2, before General Baillie at Alford in Aberdeenshire. Here for the first time he had a more numerous army than the General opposed to him. With about three thousand men, he attacked and quickly put to flight one of about half that number; as usual, killing great numbers in the pursuit. In the conflict, however, he lost the invaluable services of Lord Gordon, who was mortally wounded by a bullet, when in the act of seizing the covenanting General.

Five successive victories had now gilded the name of Montrose; and though he had never yet been able to penetrate to

the southern portion of Scotland, or break up the Covenanting Government, the King was so much elated by his success, as to form a resolution of throwing himself into Scotland, and endeavouring from that quarter to act against his enemies in England. This scheme, if effected, might have been highly advantageous; but it was disconcerted by the seizure of a messenger who carried dispatches between Montrose and the King. The defeat of the royal army at Naseby, about a fortnight before the battle of Alford, also tended to counteract any decisive result which might have otherwise sprung from Montrose's victories.

The Committee of Parliament, which managed the affairs of Scotland, though very much perplexed by the late events, and further embarrassed by a pestilence which prevailed in Edinburgh. had yet some further resources. A general muster throughout Fife and the southern counties brought several thousands of raw militia to the rendezvous at Perth, where they had resolved to make their last stand. Montrose, recruited by immense accessions from the Hebrides and other quarters, which were brought to him by Mac Col, descended to meet this huge army. On presenting himself in the neighbourhood of Perth, it could not be drawn from its position; the covenanting leaders were so much afraid, that they could not venture to make a single movement so long as he was within sight. He then swept past their camp, and passed into the southern division of Scotland, which they had been so anxious to protect. As he traversed Glendevon, the clan Maclean, which formed a large division of his army, set fire to Castle Campbell, the beautifully picturesque seat of the Marquis of Argyle, who, as their ancient feudal enemy, had committed many similar ravages in their country. The covenanting army followed by the same route, and Argyle, in revenge for the destruction of his property, burnt the two neighbouring seats of Menstrie and Airthrie, which belonged to royalists.

On the 15th of August, the two armies met at Kilsyth, a village between Stirling and Glasgow. Montrose, finding that the Covenanters were about to overtake him, assumed a strong position in the enclosures around the village. General Baillie, who commanded the Covenanters, was obliged by a directing Com-

mittee of Parliament to lead forward his troops under great dis-Montrose, however, had never found an enemy which met his encounter with so much resolution. It was only by the singular keenness of the Highland onset, supported by a well-timed charge of horse under Lord Airly, that he was able to stagger the immense masses of the covenanting army. After a brief but animated conflict, the Fife militia lost heart and fled. The horse then turned, and riding over the remaining infantry, completed the rout. Montrose's soldiers pursued with their usual eagerness, and are said to have killed very nearly the whole of the six thousand foot which had been opposed to them. The consequence was, that the covenanting government was completely broken up; the whole of Scotland fell under the power of the victor; the capital, which he was only prevented from entering on account of the plague, sent him its submission, and dismissed all the Royalist prisoners from its jail: and Montrose wrote to the King, in Scriptural language, to come and take the kingdom, lest he should make it his own.

It was the misfortune of Montrose, that, owing to the habits of his Highland adherents, he never could follow up any of his victories. A few days after his splendid success at Kilsyth, he was reduced to a weaker relative condition than at any former time. Only about a thousand men remained under his standard. The King had pointed out to him that the Earls of Home, Roxburgh, and Traquair, with the Marquis of Douglas, all of whom were Royalists, might join him with many retainers, if he could descend into the border counties. He now, therefore, led his small bands into Clydesdale, Teviotdale, and the Selkirkshire Forest, and endeavoured to procure reinforcements. Unfortunately, the loyalist noblemen were not yet sufficiently confident to come boldly forward. They knew that the Royal cause, from its decline in England, could not be long supported in Scotland. They also knew that the Scottish parliamentary government, though obliged to retire from the kingdom, was preparing to bring down a large detachment of the army from England. in order to overcome Montrose. Thus, he only risked himself in an open country, without gaining the advantages which he expected.

On the 11th of September he was encamped at Philiphaugh, in the neighbourhood of Selkirk, with less than a thousand foot and five hundred horse, when there suddenly appeared, through the mists of the morning, a large detachment of horse, which had been sent from the army at Newcastle, under David Leslie, and which, owing to the carelessness of his scouts, had approached him unperceived. Hastily ranking up his men, he received the charge of the covenanting squadron with great firmness. But his weak forces were unable to withstand the great weight and the cool deliberate courage of the enemy. After a fierce and desperate encounter, his horse broke and fled; the foot threw themselves into a position upon the neighbouring hill, and endeavoured to capitulate. He himself retired with a small troop to Peebles, and thence cut his way to the Highlands. The covenanting general followed up his victory by massacring about a hundred Irish prisoners in cold blood, the English Parliament having passed an ordinance some time before, subjecting all Irish Catholics who might be found in arms to that fate.

The Covenanting Government, or Committee of Parliament, now resumed its functions; and its first act, at the earnest request of the clergy, was to decree the death of several Royalists of distinction, who had become prisoners at Philiphaugh. Amongst these was Sir Robert Spottiswoode, son to Archbishop Spottiswoode, who had been instrumental in introducing the Episcopal system some years before. This gentleman, who had been sent down to join Montrose as the King's Secretary for Scotland, was executed purely to gratify the vengeful feelings of the Church against his father and family.

The advance of winter, the continued decline of the Royal cause in England, and the loss of his invincible reputation, prevented Montrose from resuming hostilities with any effect. He spent the winter and spring in unavailing marches through the Highlands, and at length in summer consented to an arrangement, chiefly brought about by the King, in consequence of which he was safely transported out of the country, and landed in Norway.

The victories of this extraordinary champion are universally acknowledged to have done more ill than good to his Rayal

master; for, while they never were adequate to turn the tide in his favour, they exasperated his enemies more bitterly against him, and greatly increased the difficulty of a reconciliation. There is no denving, however, that, in a military point of view, the career of Montrose was splendid. Without a warlike education, he sprung at once from the condition of a simple Scotch nobleman into the fame of a great general. His means all along were most inadequate to his ends; but by the quickness of his movements he multiplied the number of his armies, and by the vigour of his attacks he redoubled their individual efficacy. His system of tactics in some measure shadowed forth that of Napoleon Buonaparte; the appointments of his troops were a matter of indifference: so that he could sustain their enthusiasm, he cared for nothing else; and he always brought his whole force to bear upon the weakest point of the enemy, as the most ready means of discomfiting the whole. It is alleged, in depreciation of his successes, that they led to no permanent conquest; that they gained him no fortified places, and left him at the end of the sixth victory exactly the same guerilla chief which he had been at the first: but this was owing to the habits of his men, who, being chiefly volunteers, went and came as they chose, so that his whole career was a series of desultory attacks upon various bodies of What he did was wonderful enough, and ought not to be the less wonderful because he did not perform greater miracles still. He was, however, an eminently cruel general, even in an age when the massacre of a civil population or of an unresisting enemy was still held as a fair part of warfare.

At the time when the Royal cause began to sink before the Parliamentary forces, some changes had taken place in the relations of Scotland and England. Before the Solemn League and Covenant was ratified between the two kingdoms in 1643, the English people and Parliament had shown great partiality for the Presbyterian system of religion; and the Scots had hitherto performed their part in the war, with the hope that, when the King was brought low, that system should be established in the place of Episcopacy. English Puritanism, however, though at first it seemed likely to run into Presbytery, had latterly assumed in a great measure a different aspect. An influential part

of the Parliament and nation, and nearly the whole of the army, saw that Presbytery, though rejecting an earthly supremacy, was as well calculated to become a state engine as Episcopacy; and they thought it better to acknowledge no species of Church government, nor any clerical body whatever, but each to worship God in his own way. This class of persons, already alluded to under the name of Independents, also held monarchical government in far less respect than the Presbyterians; and many, indeed, would have willingly contributed to the establishment of a republic. Among the most influential of the party, Oliver Cromwell was particularly distinguished: he had originally been commander of a troop of horse in the army of the Parliament, but had risen to the rank of lieutenant-general. When Charles found he could no longer keep the field, he formed the resolution of setting himself up to auction, as it were, between these contending factions of his enemies, each of which was willing to vield a good deal in his favour, for the sake of gaining his influence against the rival party. Had he made a decisive election between them, he might have easily regained his throne, though under certain restrictions; but unfortunately he dallied too long between them. In May 1646 he was obliged to put himself into the hands of the Scottish army at Newark, for the sake of protection to his person: and there can be no doubt that, if he would have at once consented to establish the Presbyterian Church in both countries, not only this body of troops, but all the Presbyterian party in England, would have submitted to him. He was, however, too earnest an Episcopalian, or regarded that religion as too exclusively necessary for the support of monarchy, to consent to such an arrangement. On the other hand, if he could have gratified the Independents with a perfect freedom of conscience in religious matters, and condemned the assumed privileges of both the Episcopal and Presbyterian systems, he might have become, by their assistance, the president of a republic, under the title of a King.

The English Parliament and army felt bitter chagrin at his taking refuge with the Scots. Affecting to look upon that people only as auxiliaries, and not as parties in the war, they demanded the surrender of the royal person. The Scots

answered, that they were an independent nation, and being as much the King's subjects as the English, had an equal right to the possession of his person. The reply to this, was a vote of the English Parliament for keeping up their army another quarter of a year, which the Scots understood as a threat. At length, finding that the King would not consent to a Presbyterian Church, the latter were induced, partly by a sense of their inability to contend with the English, and partly in consideration of a payment of arrears due to them, to deliver up the King to the English Parliament. This was done in January 1647, and the army of the Covenant then returned to Scotland, after having been absent about four years.

King Charles was imprisoned in Holdenby Castle, and negotiations were entered into for his restoration to power. While these were pending, the Parliament, who were chiefly of the Presbyterian party, made an attempt to reduce the army, whose levelling and sectarian character was felt to be highly dangerous. The troops resented this by marching to London, and putting the Parliament under military compulsion. They also took possession of the King's person, which gave them an immense advantage over the Presbyterian party.

Charles afterwards escaped to the Isle of Wight, where he was taken under the protection of a sort of neutral power, the governor of Carisbrook Castle. While in this situation, he received renewed proposals from both the Presbyterian and the Independent parties. Without distinctly closing with either, he permitted a body of Scottish commissioners to understand that, if they would procure his restoration, he should allow the Presbyterian mode of Church-government a trial of three years, but without making it imperative upon either himself or others to adopt that form of worship.

The Marquis of Hamilton, now created Duke, took the lead in this agreement, which was reduced to the form of a treaty. It met with the approbation of a large moderate party in Scotland, but was violently condemned by the wilder Presbyterians, whom nothing could satisfy but a distinct ratification of the Covenant by the King. An armament was then prepared at Edinburgh, for the purpose of invading England in behalf of

the King. The more enthusiastic clergy denounced the project as utterly adverse to religion; but nevertheless about fifteen thousand troops were mustered; and with these the Duke of Hamilton marched into England, (July 1648,) where he was aided by a large party of English loyalists, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Several risings about the same time took place throughout England and Wales, and the people everywhere showed that a reaction had begun to take place in favour of the King. Cromwell had to leave London with a great part of the troops, in order to put down this loyal crusade; and in his absence the Presbyterian party resumed an ascendency in Parliament.

A single victory gained by the Independent general restored the balance in favour of that faction. He encountered and defeated the combined army at Preston in Lancashire, and Hamilton closed an inglorious campaign by surrendering himself, with three thousand horse, at Uttoxeter. The party in Scotland. who had opposed the expedition, seized the reins of power, being assisted in their designs by Cromwell, who for that purpose made a journey to Edinburgh. In a very short time England was again prostrated beneath the despotism of an army which it had originally raised and paid for its protection from a far less severe rule; while Scotland was subjected to a half ecclesiastical species of government, much more tyrannical and intolerant than what had ever before been known. In both countries, religion, or what is commonly thought to be so, had now become a consideration paramount to all others, and under its influence the public was prepared for any violent measures which might be brought about by the men at the head of affairs.

The Engagement, as Hamilton's treaty was called, proved ruinous to the King. The Independents now saw, that so long as he and the Presbyterians had it in their power to form leagues together, there could be no safety for a more liberal party. On this account, as well as from a principle of revenge, they resolved to bring the monarch to the same public and ignominious death which had already been endured by several of his principal counsellors.

The nation at large was averse to such a project. The

Scots also regarded it with horror, not only from their monarchical prepossessions, but because it was a violation of the Covenant, which solemnly professed a regard for the King's person. In both countries, however, the fighting men on the King's side, whether Cavaliers or Presbyterians, had recently suffered very severe defeats, which unfitted them for remonstrating effectually against the proceedings of the Independents. An army of about eight thousand men in London, and some smaller parties scattered about the provinces, were, at this particular crisis, sufficient to bring the sovereign to the block. against the general inclination of the people. Such an ascendancy had this veteran and enthusiastic soldiery gained over the nation.

In the first place, a troop of horse under Colonel Pride was sufficient to expel from the House of Commons all but the Independent members. A court was then formed by an ordinance of Parliament for trying the King. A slight opposition, presented by what now remained of the House of Lords, was met by an ordinance self-decreeing the supremacy of the House of Commons, as the only representative of the will of the English people. Before a court thus constituted by an exertion of armed force, Charles was tried, January 20, 1649, and found guilty of raising war against his people, which had previously been declared by the Parliament an act of treason. He was accordingly beheaded, January 30th, upon a scaffold erected in front of his own palace; an event which filled all persons both in Scotland and England with grief, except the small band of republican and sectarian fanatics who had carried it into effect.

King Charles I. left, by his wife Henrietta-Maria of France, six children. Charles, the eldest, was now eighteen years of age. James, the next son, who afterwards became King under the title of James II., had with his brother escaped abroad. The Princess Mary was the wife of the Statholder of Holland, and became the mother of King William III. Henrietta, a vounger daughter, was married to the Duke of Orleans, brother of the

French King.

CHAPTER V.

CHARLES II. BEFRIENDED BY THE SCOTS-COMMONWEALTH.

THE Scottish nation, as already explained, had never entertained any other views in this civil war, than the establishment of a peculiar form of religion; they were firmly attached to a monarchical form of government. During the short period of Hamilton's engagement, which contemplated an almost unconditional restoration of the King, the more enthusiastic part of the clergy and nation had been induced to co-operate with the Independents; being more alarmed at the prospect of a revival of episcopacy, along with the royal power, than at the sectarian and republican doctrines of the rival party. Now that the Independents had broken through the Covenant by putting the King to death, the whole nation, with one voice, called for the acknowledgment of his son Charles II., with whom they immediately opened a treaty, engaging to aid in procuring sih restoration, provided only that he would sign the document so often alluded to, and thereby bind himself to establish the Presbyterian worship over all his dominions.

The young and disinherited King was naturally anxious to be restored. Being comparatively indifferent on the subject of religion, and more disposed than his father to bend to circumstances, he expressed little reluctance to sign the Covenant, which to him appeared only an expedient for obtaining a temporary advantage.

While the negotiations were proceeding, Charles was distracted by an offer from the Marquis of Montrose, who had become one of the principal courtiers. This nobleman, with his characteristic boldness, proposed that, before acceding to the offer of the Covenanters, whose conditions would leave him only the appearance of sovereignty, he should permit a last effort to be made by the Royalist party in Scotland, which, if successful, would procure for him an unconditional restoration of the royal power.

and prerogative. This scheme Montrose himself proposed to carry into execution, only requiring a small foreign force to support him in making the attempt, and a quantity of stores and ammunition. Charles consented to the proposal, and thereby has subjected himself to an imputation of duplicity, for which there can be no excuse, except his difficult position and his extreme youth.

Montrose, invested with the character of his Majesty's Lieutenant, and accompanied by a few foreign mercenaries, landed in Orkney, March 1650, and being joined by some recruits from that insular territory, was able to appear in the north of Scotland with about fifteen hundred men. He expected to be reinforced by large levies in the northern countries; but in this he was, in a great measure, disappointed, on account of the precautions which had been taken by the government, and the infamy which his name carried among all but the more zealous cavaliers. As he advanced, his army was lessened by the necessity of leaving small garrisons in fortified places, to keep a path open behind When he arrived at Stratheckle, on the confines of him. Sutherland and Ross, it amounted only to twelve hundred men. To oppose his advance, the Earl of Sutherland had endeavoured to raise his numerous clan, and Lieutenant-Colonel Strachan was sent to the north, with two hundred and fifty veteran horse. The Earl having cut off all means of intelligence from the south, Strachan reached the camp of Montrose without his approach being even suspected, and, having divided his force into four squadrons, instantly made the attack. Montrose drew off his infantry to a hill, and stood his ground with great resolution: but nothing could avail against the powerful charge of the Covenanters. After a brief contest, the greater part of the loyalists threw away their arms and fled. Two hundred were drowned in a neighbouring river; four hundred made prisoners. Ten officers of distinction and several hundred soldiers were killed. Montrose himself, after fighting for some time with desperate but unavailing valour, had his horse shot under him, and was only able to ouit the field of battle by the kindness of Lord Frendraught, who gave up his own steed, and was himself taken prisoner. The loss on the side of Colonel Strachan was trifling.

Montrose fled along the wild vale of Stratheckle, and soon got involved in a rough and pathless country, where he had to abandon his horse, and trust to make his escape on foot. One after the other, he threw away his cloak, star, and sword; and finally he exchanged clothes with a poor Highlander. Scarcely stopping for food or rest, he toiled on night and day, and at length approached the country of Assynt, the proprietor of which had been in arms to join his host. By this person, whose name was Macleod, he was seized and delivered up to his enemies; for which act of treachery a reward of four hundred bolls of meal was given by the government. The unfortunate general was slowly conducted to Edinburgh, to suffer the fate which had been prepared for him by his enemies. On the 18th of May he landed at Leith, and was conducted on a coal-carrier's horse to the lower gate of the city. There he was transferred to a high seat at the end of a cart, and, under the auspices of the magistrates, dragged through the streets towards the public jail. As he passed a particular house, the Marquis of Argyle appeared upon a balcony, and surveyed from that secure station an enemy whom he had never been able to face in the field. Montrose met his gaze with a countenance as firm and majestic as if he had been the triumphant, instead of the debased party. After a tedious procession of three hours, this great public culprit was deposited in the Tolbooth. From the very commencement of his former insurrection, he had been attainted by the Scottish Parliament as a traitor; all that was now necessary was to pass the sentence of death. Being conducted to the Parliament House. he was permitted to speak in his own defence; but as his vindication necessarily implied the condemnation of his self-constituted judges, it did not meet a very respectful hearing. After his speech was done, sentence was passed upon him, and he was conducted back to prison.

The behaviour of Montrose, under these circumstances, and in the last fatal scene, was consistent with his former character. He could not be induced by the clergy who flocked about him, to allow that he repented in the least of all that he had done in the cause of royalty. He preferred to remain unabsolved from a sentence of excommunication which they had formerly passed

upon him; though this religious anathema shook the firmest minds in that age. He was visited by Johnston of Wariston, the clerk-register, a person who had figured conspicuously in all the popular movements of the time; who, observing him take great pains in dressing his hair, asked him if he could not find an employment better suited to his awful situation. He answered. "So long as my head is my own, I will dress it as I have been accustomed to do: to-morrow, when it is yours, you may treat it as you please." With regard to the disposal of his body after death, which formed part of his sentence, he said he was more gratified by the prospect of having his head stuck upon the jail than if a golden statue had been erected to him in the marketplace, or his picture had been put up in the King's bed-chamber: as to his limbs being distributed to the principal towns, he only wished he had had a sufficient number to be scattered over all the cities of Christendom, to testify his fidelity to his sovereign. Next day he dressed himself in a splendid suit of clothes, and walked to the place of execution as if he had been one of a marriage-party. On the scaffold, the clergy renewed their applications, but with no better success than before. On this account, his last devotions were unassisted by any clergyman. After vindicating his public life to a few individuals around him, he gave some pieces of gold to the executioner, and prepared himself for death. It had been customary during the whole civil war, to decapitate state criminals by the instrument called the Maiden; but Montrose was condemned to a more ignominious death, by a gibbet thirty feet high. Round his neck were tied a copy of the Declaration he had published on entering Scotland, and the volume of his Memoirs, which had been written in Latin by Wishart, and published at Amsterdam. He remarked that he was prouder of these insignia than he had been of the honourable badge of the Garter. After his body had hung three hours, a spectacle to the people, it was taken down and dismembered. The head was fixed upon the pinnacle of the ancient prison of Edinburgh, in close conjunction with the skull of his maternal uncle the Earl of Gowry, which had been placed there fifty years before. The trunk was buried under a common gibbet beyond the city walls; and the limbs were distributed to Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and Aberdeen.

Almost immediately after the defeat of Montrose, the voung King had concluded the treaty with the Covenanters, by which, on condition of his engaging to promote the Presbyterian religion, they undertook to accept him as their Sovereign, and do what they could for the advancement of his claims in England. Charles landed at Garmouth, in Moray, June 23rd, having previously been obliged to sign the Covenant on ship-board. As he advanced to Edinburgh, he had the mortification to see one of the limbs of the Marquis of Montrose exposed at Aberdeen. His court was established at the Palace of Falkland, in Fife; but it was one of little splendour. With the exception of a few English adherents, all of whom had been obliged like himself to sign the Covenant, his courtiers consisted of the stern nobility who conducted affairs in Scotland, or of the more rigid clergy, who vied with each other in their endeavours to make him a sincere Presbyterian convert. The King, if not naturally susceptible of deep religious impressions, was at least philosophical enough to endure their lectures and preaching with some show of patience. He is said to have one Sunday sat out six sermons, which occupied nearly the whole day. He also suffered with marvellous composure the freedoms of speech which these preachers felt it their duty to use in giving him advice, or rebuking the gaieties in which he was wont to indulge.

He was in reality but a puppet sovereign. The real power of the State remained with the Marquis of Argyle, the Chancellor Earl of Loudoun, Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, and other men who had acted a chief part in the resistance to the late monarch. The whole design and policy of the Scottish people on this occasion was based in error. They had suffered so much in behalf of their system of religion, and of the national bond which supported it, that they had at last come to place their whole hopes of happiness, both in this world and the next, in the project of rendering it universally supreme in Britain. A mere toleration of it, as one of the many religious systems of the day, would not satisfy them: they considered themselves bound to

take every expedient for rooting out other systems, although it is evident to a modern comprehension that the adherents of these other systems were as sincerely pique as themselves, and a great deal more liberal. With that blindness, moreover, which befalls all who foster an extreme enthusiasm, they had forgot the spirit of their system in battling for its externals: the Covenant had almost become their religion, and to subscribe that was to enter at once into their fellowship of faith. Hence they overlooked the personal character of the young King, and even his principles of action, notorious as these had been rendered by the expedition of Montrose, and thought all was right when they had induced him to put his name to their national bond. It is clear that a desire of advancing their own Church by a faithless alliance with one who was, if anything, an Episcopalian, and therefore a common enemy, was an insufficient reason for their entering into war with another body of religionists, who had lately been their brethren in arms and in policy, and who were still willing to be allied with them, upon principles mutually advantageous.

The English sectaries were reluctantly compelled by the proceedings in Scotland to enter into a war. Cromwell was recalled from Ireland, and placed at the head of an army of sixteen thousand men. On the 19th of July this body crossed the Tweed, and entered upon a country, which, according to the ancient custom, had been laid waste to the very gates of the capital. The policy of the Scots was to rest their troops upon Edinburgh, and stand on the defensive. The King was brought, July 29th, to view the army, but not permitted to assume any command. It was placed under the care of their General, David Leslie, the hero of Philiphaugh. At the very time when Cromwell was pitching his camp at Musselburgh, the Scottish leaders were busied in weeding the army of all who were suspected of being loyal to the monarch for his own sake, or of being indifferent Presbyterians; and after thousands of good soldiers had been thus dismissed, the remainder was dignified with the appellation of the kirk army, and fondly hoped to be as invincible in arms as it was pure in faith.

Cromwell soon found that the position of the Scots was not to be assailed. He lingered for several weeks at Musselburgh, vainly endeavouring to bring them out to a fair fight. At length the failure of his provisions obliged him to withdraw towards England. There is but one way by which an army can retire from this part of Scotland to the border, namely, the ancient road along the east coast of Lothian and Berwickshire. At one part of that road was a ravine called the Pass of the Peaths, where a very powerful army might have easily been destroyed by a comparatively small force. Cromwell, being followed close by the Scots in his retreat, found, when he reached Dunbar, that this pass would endanger his further progress. He was therefore obliged, on the 1st and 2nd of September, to stand here at bay, while the Scottish army hovered over him upon the skirts of the Lammermoor Hills. This great soldier was never, before or after, in more imminent danger than now. To add to his distress, a great number of his men were sick.

It was the policy of the Scots to wait till their great sectarian enemy should be obliged to deliver himself up to them. Such was the opinion of their general, and such was the line of conduct pointed out by the exactly similar circumstances which had taken place on the same ground in an earlier period of Scottish history.* But the Scots were inflamed with the triumph of pursuing Cromwell, and the ministers, who constituted a very influential part of the host, could brook no delay. Leslie, thus over-ruled, led down the army from the hills, and on the morning of the 3rd of September, presented himself in battle array against Cromwell, who, when he first saw their long lines coming towards him, exclaimed in a transport of joy, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands!" Most gladly he accepted the offered strife. A severe and well-contested fight ensued. Military experience and hardihood, and also desperation of circumstances, were in favour of Cromwell; but the Scots were more numerous, and quite as brave. Again and again the English troopers were beaten back by the Scots; but they were men who would take no denial from

^{*} The same hills had been thus occupied by the army of John Ballol in 1296. Edward's English army lay below, where Cromwell's was now placed. The former were routed, in consequence of having left their advantageous position; a chain of circumstances precisely the same as that which now took place.

fortune. Ever and again they recurred to the charge. For a long while neither party seemed likely to yield to the other. The Scots at last gave way. They became in a moment "as stubble" to the swords of the English, who pursued them for many miles, killing several thousands. Many gentlemen and many ministers fell in this dreadful rout, and ten thousand became prisoners. The Covenanting Government withdrew its shattered forces to Stirling, and still presented an unyielding front; but Cromwell became master of Edinburgh and its castle.

The Presbyterian clergy were much puzzled to account for their defeat; for they had felt assured that the cause, which they thought alone good or holy, was sure to obtain success by the interposition of the Almighty. Charles, on the other hand, secretly rejoiced in an incident which had withered the very flower of their strength, and promised to throw the chief power into the hands of a more moderate party. The Royalists again began to raise their heads; a rising was projected in the Highlands, and Charles was induced to give it his countenance, On the 4th of October, he left Perth unattended, and threw himself into the mountains of Angus, where the rising was to have taken place. But some misunderstanding as to the day disconcerted the arrangement; and finding no party assembled, he was obliged to return with a covenanting colonel, who had been dispatched to overtake him. Though this put an end to the proposed insurrection, it also showed to the Committee of Parliament, which hitherto formed the ruling power, that Charles was no longer to be retained upon those rigid terms which he had hitherto been obliged to submit to. By an act of estates, all notorious loyalists, and all who had given occasion to suspect their attachment to the Covenant, were excluded from employment, either in the state or the army; this act was now overlooked, and it was resolved to recruit the army from the ranks of the cavaliers. The south and west of Scotland protested against the proposed arrangement, and retired to form an army by themselves; but it was carried through by the sense of a more moderate part of the nation, who saw that the country could no longer be defended otherwise, and that the lovalists, if not admitted as a friendly party, would be tempted to act as an additional enemy.

Such were the transactions of the autumn of 1650. While the Scottish army revived in as great strength as ever before Stirling, Cromwell lay at Linlithgow, prevented by a sickness which pervaded his camp from making any active exertions. On the 1st of January, 1651, Charles was crowned at Scone as King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and at the same time renewed his oath of adherence to the two Covenants in the most solemn manner. Many of his most zealous friends were about the same time admitted to situations of trust; Buckingham, for instance, was made an extraordinary member of the Committee of Estates. Yet still it was necessary, for the sake of preserving appearances, that all things should be done with an eminent respect for the Covenant.

As the summer advanced, Cromwell saw the necessity of bringing the contest to an issue; for he dreaded to spend another winter in an unfriendly country, where fresh provisions were scarcely to be had. He accordingly attempted to turn the position of the Scottish army, by throwing a detachment across the Forth at Queensferry, with orders to advance into the north. A larger party came to oppose this force, and a battle took place at Inverkeithing, in which the English were successful, beating back their opponents with a loss of about two hundred killed, six hundred prisoners, and sixty stands of colours. Cromwell then advanced to Perth, which surrendered to him at the first call; and thus he was enabled to cut off the valuable communications which the Scottish army had hitherto maintained with the Highlands.

Charles, who now was permitted to command the army, resolved to take advantage of Cromwell's present position, to advance into England, and endeavour to raise the English loyalists. This project met with general approbation, and was only opposed with any degree of energy by the Marquis of Argyle, who represented to the King that he ought to be content for the present with the recovery of Scotland, and that the expedition of Hamilton was a warning beacon against another attempt to rouse the English cavaliers. But this nobleman, who had all along had a kind of good fortune in avoiding the dangers of war, was permitted to retire home upon the plea of his wife's health.

and there remained no longer any opposition. Accordingly, the Scottish army began its march about the beginning of August, entering England by the western border. Cromwell followed at the distance of two or three days' march: and at his solicitation the English Parliament raised the militia to oppose the invasion. It was soon evident that the attempt was premature. lovalists nowhere rose in great strength; the militia mustered between the army and the capital. Charles was at length obliged to halt at Worcester, and await the attack of Cromwell. A battle took place near that city on the 3rd of September, which was the anniversary of the fight at Dunbar. The Scots defended themselves with desperate valour for several hours, but after having repelled the main host of the enemy, were at length obliged to yield to a strong re-inforcement which happened to Cromwell gained another hard-won and splendid victory. Two thousand of the Scots were slain: six or seven thousand taken prisoners. Among the latter were the Duke of Hamilton, who died of his wounds next day, and twelve other noblemen. The King escaped in solitary flight, and encountered the greatest hardships and dangers ere he could get out of the kingdom. It affords a curious view of the character of the victors, that, both on this occasion, and after the battle of Dunbar, they sold a great number of the prisoners as slaves to the plantations. Their own endeavours to render themselves a little more free than they had previously been, had not produced any prepossession for abstract liberty, but rather brought them into a situation where they thought it no crime to reduce other men. born equally free with themselves, to absolute bondage.

The military power of Scotland was almost entirely broken by these two defeats, one of which had crippled the more zealous Presbyterians, while the second had destroyed the moderate party, together with the Cavaliers. There did not now remain in Scotland any party sufficient to hold out against the English Republic. General Monk, who had been left in the country by Cromwell, applied himself diligently to reduce the few forts and towns which maintained any appearance of resistance. He found some difficulty in obtaining possession of Dundee, where the Scottish nobility and gentry had deposited a great quantity of

their moveable wealth. But, by giving up this town to pillage and massacre, according to the policy pursued by Cromwell in Ireland, he frightened the nation into a speedy submission. In a short time the whole country, except some parts of the Highlands, lay prostrate and unresisting beneath the sway of about five thousand English-not the tenth part of many southern armies which had formerly been resisted with success. The formal submission of the kingdom to the English Parliament, was ratified on the 2nd of April, 1652, at Dalkeith, where Monk established his head-quarters. A small detachment of English judges was sent down to administer justice, and commissioners were appointed for both kingdoms to deliberate upon an incorporating union. The General Assembly of the Church was broken up and dispersed by a troop of dragoons; but, while the clergy were thus deprived of all collective power, no disturbance was given to their exertions as ministers of religion. Perhaps the most striking part of this picture of national humiliation was the condition of the nobles. These men, who had acted the most conspicuous parts during the civil war, were now deprived of all influence, and many of them reduced to poverty. The people at large were severely galled by the English voke, which was both a political and religious oppression; but they nevertheless seemed to feel some consolation in reflecting that all parties were alike galled. The Cavaliers had now no advantage over the Presbyterians; while neither the moderate nor the zealous party of the Presbyterians could say that their own condition was more honourable than that of their opponents. All the English writers agree in describing the miserable condition of the people, both as to their minds and as to their persons. Many of them were half-naked and half-starved; and the English judges were astonished at the amount of monstrous crimes that fell under their notice. In the first session, four hundred cases of violence and bloodshed, arising out of private quarrels, were presented for trial; and in one day they had to dispose of no fewer than sixty cases of witchcraft.

The English Republic, soon after this period, proved to be an entire failure. In April, 1653, Cromwell was enabled, by his command over the army, to expel the Parliament from its place of

assembly, and assume the supreme power into his own hands. In July, he was pleased to call another Parliament for form's sake. It consisted of one hundred and thirty-nine persons, of whom four were from Scotland. This body acquired the popular nickname of Barebone's Parliament, from one of the number being a leather-dealer of that extraordinary name. In reality, they were a mere set of puppets, whom Cromwell moved at his pleasure. In a few months they had acquired so much public contempt, that he found it necessary to dissolve them. A few days after, a majority of their number came before him with a formal offer of the dignity of Protector of the three kingdoms, which he was pleased to accept. Thus did the English nation, after fighting for upwards of ten years in the cause of liberty, submit to an absolute despotism in the person of their principal military officer.

The Protector had involved himself at this time in a war with the States of Holland, which considerably embarrassed his resources. General Monk having been recalled from Scotland to take command of the fleet, some of the nobility of that country thought it a good opportunity to throw off the English voke. Encouraged by the King, who was in close alliance with Holland, the Earls of Glencairn and Balcarres, with Lord Lorn, son to the Marquis of Argyle, raised their standards in the Highlands, and soon collected a considerable body of troops. The principles avowed in this insurrection were exclusively those of loyalty. When Balcarres attempted to make the Covenant its object, he was so effectually resisted, that he found it necessary to retire. Besides some Highland clans, the army comprehended many Lowland Cavaliers, and even some who had found their way from England. For many months it kept up a threatening front along the Highland line, and in several encounters with the English parties gained a decisive advantage. Early in 1654. Charles dispatched General Middleton to assume the command: and Glencairn marched northward into Sutherlandshire to meet him. But from this time the expedition did no more good. The Dutch war came to a conclusion; and this partial resistance was soon after quelled. The union of the two countries, which had been postponed in consequence of the dismissal of the Long Paxliament, was now achieved, after a fashion, by a simple proclamation from the Protector.

When Cromwell had assumed this dignity, he agreed to call a Parliament upon a new principle. It consisted of four hundred and sixty members, thirty of whom were sent from Scotland, and as many from Ireland. Every person possessing property to the amount of two hundred pounds had a vote for these members. The Parliament sat down on the 3rd of September, which was called Cromwell's lucky day, from its being the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester. After it had sat about five months, he was obliged, by the tone of independence which it assumed, to treat it in the same manner as the last. Another was called next year; but, excepting among the Scottish and Irish members, who were not elected freely, the same tone of independence prevailed; and he was compelled to banish about a hundred hostile members, on the pretext of their immoral or irreligious lives. These facts shew, in the most convincing manner, that the power of Cromwell had no real foundation in the popular will. but was solely the creature of military despotism. The remaining members made him a formal offer of the title of King: but he was never, in the whole course of his career, able to accept of that dignity, on account of the jealousy of his chief officers, some of whom appear to have considered that the supreme power ought to be elective among themselves. All this time, his life was harassed by fears of assassination, a crime countenanced in this age by men of the highest rank and education. How far his present situation was the result of his own ambition, or how far he was only borne on by the tide of circumstances. by him uncontrollable, it would be difficult to determine; but he certainly stands a monument of the futility of ill-gotten power in producing happiness. Notwithstanding that he caused the English name to be more highly respected abroad than it had ever been under the best monarchs, the people never rested content under his sway. Even the Parliaments, which he called, as it were, by the sound of the trumpet, and kept constantly under a guard of his own troops, were indefatigable in their endeavours to limit his power, and often spurned it altogether. In January, 1656, he adopted a very ingenious design for checking this popular body. He pretended to revive the House of Peers, which had been dissolved at the King's death; summoned eight of these dignitaries, upon whom he could depend, and mixing them up with some of his officers, set them up as a council to sanction the acts of the Commons. But the representatives of the people of England were not to be imposed upon by such a scheme. They refused to acknowledge the power of a body chiefly composed of his own creatures; and very soon he was forced to dissolve this Parliament also. He was now as much afraid of Parliaments as the King had been, and resolved never to call another. He consequently was visited with exactly the same distresses as those which had pressed upon the unfortunate Monarch. He had to levy taxes by his own ordinance, and borrow money wherever it was to be obtained. His emissaries frequently went to ask loans from the merchants of London, and were refused.

Except for the degradation of conquest, Scotland had little to complain of during the Protectorate. All intestine disturbance was prevented by the soldiery; the country prospered under the effects of a free commerce with England; several useful arts, formerly unknown, were introduced by the military; and it was remarked that religion, so far from suffering a decay, was never known to be in a more flourishing state. As the taxes did not exceed sixty thousand pounds, while the army expenditure was at one time so high as nearly half a million, a great deal of English money was necessarily imported into the country. Justice was dispensed with an impartiality not known under the native judges; and no man of peaceable demeanour was disturbed on account of his opinions.

CHAPTER VI.

RESTORATION OF CHARLES IL.—THE "PERSECUTION."

THE difficulties and troubles in which Cromwell spent his latter years at length undermined his health, and he died on the 3rd of September, 1658, of a tertian ague. His eldest son, Richard, a good, simple-hearted youth, was proclaimed his successor; but a man who, as Sir Harry Vane described him, could not command obedience from his own body-servants, was little qualified to exact it from a free-spirited nation. At the first, Richard received many addresses from his subjects, such as the occupancy of power may at all times command; but in a very few months, the remains of the Long Parliament having seized upon the supreme authority, he resigned his sceptre without a struggle, and retired into private life. The Parliament continued in power during the summer of 1659; it then gave way to the usurpation of the army, or a council of generals. This latter government, in its turn, sunk beneath the Parliament, which once more sat down on the 6th of December. The people soon became more disgusted with these changes of rulers, than ever they had been with the arbitrary measures of Charles I. There gradually arose a desire in the public mind for some firm and respectable kind of government, by whomsoever it was to be administered; and the eyes of men were very generally turned towards the young King, who had now spent about eight years in exile, and was believed to have been greatly improved by his misfortunes.

It was from Scotland that the movement for his restoration was destined to be made. General Monk, who commanded the forces in that kingdom, was understood to be favourable to monarchy and to the Presbyterian religion. Perceiving that the task of settling the country was in some measure left to him, this commander prevailed upon the Scotch commissioners of

counties to grant him a large subsidy, and on the 2nd of January, 1660, he entered England at Coldstream. As he marched towards London, he gave out that he had taken this step in order to call a free Parliament in London, by which the government might be settled. Lambert, one of the English generals, opposed him with a large force, but was defeated. Monk was rather embarrassed on learning that the old Parliament was again sitting: but still he pushed on, and on the 3rd of February he entered London. Fear for his power alone prevented the Parliament from causing him to be seized as a traitor. In a few weeks, by the exertion of great prudence, and chiefly through the support of the city of London, he succeeded in restoring to the House all those members of the Presbyterian and Royalist parties, who had been secluded by Cromwell, and whose absence had caused the remainder to be designated the Rump. There was then a decided majority favourable to monarchical government. When this point had been attained, Monk prevailed upon them to dissolve, and call a new Parliament. Though he still preserved profound silence respecting his intentions, he now opened up a correspondence with the King, who, in compliance with his request, sent proposals to the new Parliament for his restoration These comprehended an offer of indemnity for all to power. past offences which the Parliament itself might not think fit for punishment; as also a toleration for all tender consciences in matters of religion. The messenger who brought the Royal despatches was honourably received, and the despatches themselves read with bursts of applause. No further promise or obligation was demanded; but a deputation was immediately appointed to go to Holland, and bring over the King. Liberty had now become so unpopular, in consequence of the serious evils which the pursuit of it had occasioned, that the nation precipitated itself. without hesitation, and without reserve, under a rule similar to that which they had begun to resist twenty years before. King entered London on the 29th of May, being his thirtieth birth-day, and was received with so many tokens of joyful welcome, that it seemed difficult to believe there ever had been any real reason for his absence.

In Scotland, where the last great effort had been made to revive

he would have hesitated to mark himself out as the companion and obliged servant of a rebel grandee, suspected of being accessory to his father's death. The Marquis was beheaded on the 27th of May 1661, and his execution was followed by that of his co-patriot Wariston, and of Mr. Guthry, a clergyman of the more zealous party.

By the Restoration, the kingdom of Scotland had again become distinct from England. Separate ministers were appointed to manage its affairs, and a Parliament was opened on the 1st of January, under the charge of General Middleton, who was now raised to the rank of an Earl. At one sweep the representatives of these nations rescinded the acts of the last twenty-two years, so as to restore all matters to the condition in which they stood at the beginning of the war. By this act, all the provisions for the establishment of Presbytery fell to the ground, and Episcopancy was virtually replaced. But this great business was also made the subject of direct acts of the legislature, and in May 1662 the bishops and archbishops were appointed. Mr. Sharpe, who had been sent to court to superintend the interests of Presbytery, came back Archbishop of St. Andrews, and head of the Episcopal church; a fact never forgiven by his party. The rest of the prelates, with the exception of one, were not men of high character; for this dignity had been spurned by most of the distinguished Presbyterian clergymen to whom it had been offered.

It does not appear that this change was at first so unpopular as might have been expected. The clergy, who had not hitherto taken any strong measures to express their favour for Presbytery, did not now exclaim very loudly against the introduction of an opposite system. The nation itself gave no symptoms of violent disgust; the whole seemed to be looked upon as a proper consequence of the restoration of royalty. It must be remarked, the innovation was felt chiefly in the government of the Church, not in its forms of worship. The bishops merely became the superiors of the Church courts, so as to give weight to the royal power among the clergy; there were no ceremonies, no liturgy, no new forms to shock the prejudices of the worshippers. Every minister might have continued to preach as formerly, it his con-

science would have permitted him to abandon that idea of a spiritual supremacy, independent of all worldly patronage and control, which formed the distinguishing feature of the Presbyterian system.

All, however, was lost by the imprudence of the government agents. Middleton, to whom the King had entrusted the chief management of affairs, was a coarse and debauched soldier. without the least prudence or political skill. Having taken a tour to the west, in order to give the countenance of government to the Archbishop of Glasgow, he was informed by that prelate that the most of the clergy refused to accept of new ordination, or to seek for re-appointment from the patrons of their parishes, professing that they were already in full and lawful enjoyment both of the clerical character and of their parochial charges, to which they had been called by the people. By the advice of the Archbishop, Middleton issued an illegal act of council, commanding the recusant clergy to conform before a particular day, on pain of being expelled from their benefices. This decisive measure, instead of hastening an obedience to the new Churchgovernment, rendered that almost impossible. To the surprise of the government and the bishops, three hundred clergymen in that district gave up their charges rather than obey. There can be no doubt that the interests of the government and of the church were betrayed by this rashness of two of their officers. When Sharpe learned what had taken place, he was struck with grief and made several attempts, by granting further time, to bring the recusant clergymen into obedience. All expedients, however, were unavailing. The non-conformists could easily calculate that the religious desolation which they produced in so large a district must be more embarrassing to the government than to themselves, that it would indeed be the quickest way of bringing the government to their terms; and that at the worst, being the favourites of the people, they never could be brought to any inconvenience by the want of a regular stipend. further encouraged by the example of the Presbyterian clergymen in England, three thousand of whom resigned their charges in one day, rather than comply with the desires of the government.

The wand of peace was thus in a manner broken between the Episcopal and Presbyterian systems in Scotland. The ejected clergy could not ever afterwards, consistently with principle, yield to those regulations which they had already condemned; nor could the bishops appease their scruples without virtually abandoning all pretensions to supremacy over the Church. It was found necessary to take the seceding ministers at their word, and plant a more compliant set of men in their places. The northern counties, which had always been more disposed to Episcopacy than to Presbytery, were ransacked for young licentiates of divinity, who were thrust into the vacant pulpits, though in many cases very unfit for the duty. In the remaining two thirds of Scotland, the clergy appear to have generally conformed to the rules laid down by the prelates.

Perhaps, even after all the violence which had already been exhibited, the Episcopal Church might have obtained a firm footing in Scotland. Though the new incumbents were in many places resisted by every means which the people had in their power, in others a disposition was shown to accept of their ministration in a meek and kindly spirit. But it was soon found necessary to resort to still more violent measures against the non-conformist clergy, many of whom, by holding prayer-meetings in their own houses, had attracted the congregations from the churches. An act of council was issued, forbidding these ministers to approach their respective parishes nearer than twenty miles, or any royal burgh nearer than three. The people were also commanded to attend regularly at their parish churches under very heavy penalties. These edicts defeated themselves by their own severity, and rather extended than repressed the spirit of resistance. The new clergy were by them rendered so odious to the people at large, that even the little favour they at first experienced was quickly lost.

The Presbyterian historians represent, with much force of description, the detriment which Scotland sustained from these changes. Previous to the Restoration, the people were living contentedly under clergymen of their own choosing, who were all bound by the Covenant to one uniform object, and were most earnestly concerned for the spiritual progress of their flocks. So

effectual had religion been in producing good works, that a traveller might have roamed through the whole country without ever hearing an oath, and tavern-keepers were almost ruined for want of business. Every parish had its minister, every village its school, every family—almost every individual—a copy of the Scriptures; public worship took place three times every week, and in every house private devotions were performed by the father of the family both in the morning and evening. The whole land, indeed, was in the highest state of moral and religious culture. All was changed under the new government. A great proportion of the curates, as the Episcopal clergy were called, thought it a matter of duty, like other cavaliers, at this insane time, to exemplify an entirely opposite line of conduct to that held by the Puritans. Along with some worse vices, that of drunkenness prevailed almost universally amongst them; for sobriety, strange to say, was now deemed a rebellious virtue, and it was thought that no man in his senses could be loval. Among the larger class of clergymen who had complied with the new rules, the people also discerned a falling off both in the external virtues and in the efficacy of their ministrations. These men seemed no longer to be the bold advocates and examples of virtue which they once had been, as if a consciousness of having deserted their own obligations had deprived them of all power to enforce those of their flocks.

The fatal consequences of Middleton's rashness were soon made apparent at the English court, and in the beginning of the year 1663 he was supplanted in power by the Earl of Lauderdale, who had hitherto been only Secretary of State. Lauderdale, who was naturally a man of coarse and cruel character, had figured towards the close of the Civil War as a zealous Covenanter, and, being taken at the battle of Worcester, suffered imprisonment in the Tower during the whole period of the Protectorate, till he was at length relieved by General Monk. The experience of such severe hardships was enough to have given even a sounder Covenanter some distaste to popular movements, and accordingly he now became an enthusiastic royalist. He joined the King at Breda, just before the Restoration, and was so fortunate as to recommend himself very powerfully to

the royal favour. It is said that he desired the King to establish Presbytery in Scotland, as the form of Church-government most beloved by the people; but he does not appear to have been in the least disappointed on finding his counsels overruled. The truth is, religion was now in some discredit among such men as Lauderdale. The attempts to establish it on a better footing had produced an age of war and calamity; and it was felt by the adherents of the new government that that form of Church-government was the best which promised to afford most effectual support to the state. It was remarked at this time that several great state-officers who lent themselves willingly to the introduction of prelacy into Scotland, chose, on their death-beds, to be attended by Presbyterian clergymen—by those very men whom they had assisted to expel from their livings; thereby proving that they had sacrificed their own personal feelings to a sense of political expediency. This caused the Duke of York (brother to the King) to remark that all Scotsmen, whatever they might pretend, were at heart Presbyterians.

It had been thought proper, soon after the King's return, to withdraw the English garrisons, and raze the forts erected by Cromwell, partly to gratify the national feelings, and partly that the people might not look for any support in their religious prepossessions to a soldiery more zealous than themselves. At Lauderdale's instigation, the Parliament now agreed to maintain a native army of twenty-two thousand horse and foot, not only for the support of the government in Scotland, but to serve the King in any other part of his dominions. By this Lauderdale showed to Charles that he might depend upon an armed force from Scotland, in the event of his making any attempt to render himself absolute. Such a design had already been agitated.

It may perhaps be remarked that, as all these proceedings were sanctioned by the estates in Parliament, they must have been agreeable to a majority of the nation, and therefore not liable to the charge of being unduly tyrannical. But it is to be kept in mind that the Scottish estates was not a free assembly. The elections for the burghs were often at the dictation of the chancellor; and it was always possible to eject a number of obnoxious members by subjecting them to the severe tests imposed

by the government. It is to be acknowledged, however, that the Covenanters had supplied the Cavaliers with examples for these arbitrary practices. The Chancellor Loudoun used to send circulars to the burghs, desiring them to take care that they returned godly representatives, that is to say, men who would give no opposition to the small body of influential persons who managed the popular interest; and if a Cavalier member chanced to be returned, or dared to appear, he was sure to be stopped at the threshold of Parliament by some objection to his morality or his faith. And it is also to be acknowledged that many of the covenanting parliaments were composed of only a small junto commissioned from certain parts of the country, the majority being intimidated from attending. Thus may the proceedings of a liberal and popular government afford precedents for the most tyrannical and dangerous measures.

By the royal authority, a Court of High Commission was erected, for the trial of all offences against the state-religion. It was composed of nine prelates and thirty-five laymen; but one prelate, with four assistants, were enabled to sit at any time or place as a quorum. This court could be considered in no other light than as an inquisition. It required no evidence to condemn, and it admitted none to excuse. The unhappy persons dragged before it were generally condemned from some expressions of their own, or for refusing to answer questions. It was equally dangerous to speak and to be silent. The condemned were generally sent to prison, or subjected to heavy fines. Such at length was the severity exercised by this spiritual court, that out of the thirty-five laymen, four could not be obtained to sanction its proceedings, and it then expired amidst general contempt. Its fate reminds us that the prelates were at this time by far the most eager instruments of the government. They were at the bottom of some of the severest and most arbitrary measures, and often complained of the remiss way in which these were put in force by the state officers. It is humiliating to a Scotsman, that out of the whole thirteen, Leighton, an Englishman, alone exhibited anything like a spirit of Christian charity or meekness. This amiable man was at the first Bishop of Dumblane, and afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow; but he eventually resigned his See, and retired to his native country, quite tired out, it appeared, with the barbarities which he saw practised in the name of religion.

Some troops of life-guards had been raised immediately after the Restoration, for the purpose of enforcing the behests of the government. They were chiefly the younger sons and dependents of the Cavalier gentry, and were raised principally in the northern counties, where Presbyterianism was least in vogue. militia was let loose upon the western counties, under the command of Sir James Turner, an English soldier of fortune. Small parties stationed themselves at the doors of churches where clergymen of the more popular order were preaching, and as the people came out they were one by one interrogated by their booted inquisitors. If any person not belonging to the parish was found to have been hearing the sermon, he was denounced for having deserted his own parish church. Lists were also furnished by the curates, of persons who did not attend their ministrations; and upon all such individuals there were imposed very severe fines. Till the fines were paid, the military took free quarters in the houses of the victims, where they assumed a license of behaviour in the highest degree revolting. Nor were the victims exclusively of the lower walks of life. Twenty gentlemen of the west were imprisoned in 1665, and confined for several years, upon suspicion of being inclined to take advantage of the war recently commenced with Holland, in order to raise an insur-The present rulers now imitated another piece of rection. tyranny, for which an example had been set under the late reign of liberty; they transported many of the recusant peasantry to the West Indies, where they were sold as slaves.

Under the pressure of these calamities, many pious clergymen and laymen sunk in despair into the grave. Among the latter was the Earl of Loudoun, who had at one time been almost the most influential man in the country. Among the former was Robert Baillie, who had additional reason to regret the misery which now befel his country, for he conceived that the moderate church party, to which he belonged, had been, however innocently, conducive to the restoration of Episcopacy, and had supplied all the instruments for re-erecting that form of Church-

government. He remarked bitterly that the protesting clergy had been far wiser than his own party, in the jealousy with which they had always regarded the King.

The oppressions of the soldiers were particularly severe in the provinces of Galloway and Dumfriesshire, where, it is said, fifty thousand pounds Scots were raised by fines in a few weeks. In that district, no age, sex, or rank was spared; paupers, it is said, had to beg in order that they might discharge their fines. On the 13th of November, 1666, a poor old man was seized in the village of Dalry, in Galloway, and, as he could not buy himself off, the soldiers were threatening to strip him naked. party of the neighbours interceded in a civil manner, but only provoked the anger of the soldiers. A quarrel ensued, which ended in the soldiers being disarmed by the peasantry. The victors, more distressed by success than they could have been by defeat, saw that they would have no safety but in a continued resistance; and accordingly they proceeded next morning to disarm the larger party of soldiers who had been planted to superintend the parish. One of these was killed. They were now joined by the Laird of Barscob, a name abhorrent to the Muses, but dear to patriotism, along with about fifty horse and a few foot. The whole moved forward on the succeeding morning to Dumfries, where they surprised Sir James Turner in his lodgings, and disarmed the few soldiers who attended him. They next drank the King's health at the cross, in order to show that they were not in arms against the royal authority, but only against the measures of the prelates. The Privy Council was next day informed of what had taken place. and immediately sent off a despatch to London, describing it as a most portentous rebellion. General Dalyell was at the same time commanded to draw together the forces at Glasgow, and march to any point where he might learn that the insurgents were in greatest strength. They moved northwards through Dumfriesshire and Avrshire, and entered Lanarkshire at Douglas. where it is said their numbers amounted to three thousand. They had now been joined by a few small country gentlemen and some ministers, but by no men of considerable rank. They were commanded by Colonel Wallace, a gentleman who had served on the popular side in the civil wars. At Lanark, which they reached on the 26th, they formally renewed the Covenants: but on being informed that General Dalvell was hovering in the neighbourhood, their numbers suddenly became diminished. The remainder moved on towards Edinburgh, where they expected a great accession of friends. They had designed to rest for the night at Bathgate, but, finding no accommodation, were obliged to march onwards to Collington, within three miles of the capital. During this night-march they lost a full half of their numbers: the remainder, according to their historian, Wodrow, "looked more like dving men than soldiers going to a battle. It would have almost made their very enemies relent, to have seen so many weary, faint, half-drowned, half-starved men, betwixt enemies behind and enemies before." The young Duke of Hamilton, who in this dreary time maintained a sincere and earnest spirit of patriotism, here sent a friend to entreat that they would lay down their arms, and trust to the King's mercy; but Colonel Wallace declined doing so, until he should have obtained some definite promise from the Privy Council. For this purpose he sent a letter to General Dalvell, who was only a few miles behind; but no notice was taken of it. All hopes and counsels were now at an end; they had got into a country where they had few friends and many enemies, and from which it was impossible to retreat without encountering great perils. Wallace retired a few miles along the skirts of the Pentland Hills. and drew up about nine hundred dispirited men at a place called Rullion Green. Towards the evening, as they were waiting for some answer to the letter sent by Wallace, they were overjoyed with the sight of a large body of horse, which appeared on the top of an adjoining hill, and which they believed to be a reinforcement from the west. But they were soon undeceived. It was in reality the legions of Dalyell, who had marched across this Alpine region in order to surprise them. A deep hollow between the two hostile parties prevented an immediate collision. Dalyell sent out a party to take a circuit along the side of the hill, and attack the left wing of the insurgents. The attack was met with spirit by an equal detachment of horse under Captain Arnot, and the royalist party was beat back with some loss. There was little

display of military science in this encounter; for on neither side was there much experience in warfare: the insurgents were absolutely without the least semblance of discipline. General Dalyell now sent out his left wing to attack the right of the insurgents; but it was twice repulsed in the same manner. His force, however, was getting more numerous, as the companies successively came up; and in a general charge he completely routed the non-conformist troops. Night fortunately protected the fugitives; otherwise it is probable that the greater part of them would have been taken or slain. Only about fifty were killed, and as many taken prisoners. Among the former were two elergymen, named Crookshanks and M'Cormick, who had come from Ireland, and very much encouraged the countrypeople in this enterprise. Wallace escaped abroad, and never more saw his native country. A great number of the fugitives were cut down, or seized by the country people in the neighbouring parishes: a fact which proves that the spirit which animated the undertaking was by no means universal in Scotland.

The prisoners were led in triumph to Edinburgh, to be transferred from the mercy of the sword to the mercy of the law. An aged Presbyterian clergyman, living in the suburbs, opened his window to look upon the melancholy spectacle, and, struck by the brutality which he saw exercised by the soldiers upon so many brethren in faith, immediately took ill, and died of grief. Some of the Episcopal clergy were anxious that the prisoners should be leniently dealt with, so as to give the country a favourable impression of the Government and the Church; but Archbishop Sharpe, who presided in the council, entertained a slavish notion that the court would not be satisfied without a considerable number of victims. He therefore pressed on the trial of eleven of the prisoners, all of whom were executed upon one gibbet, little more than a week after they had been taken in arms. Eight days afterwards, four more were executed, and, a few days later, six were added to the number. Among the latter was a young devout clergyman named Hugh M'Kail, who had only been taken on suspicion in the neighbourhood of the insurgent host. This person was first put to the torture of the Boot, in order to extort a confession. The leg was put into a square wooden box, with moveable plates within; between the plates and the box, wedges were driven by a mallet, so as to produce the most exquisite pain. He solemnly declared that he could tell no more than what he had already divulged, even though every joint in his body were in as great torture as "that poor limb." But the Privy Council, who presided over these scenes, still called for "the other touch," till at length the marrow was expressed from the bone, and the whole limb was reduced to a ielly. He remarked himself, with much truth, that his sufferings would do more injury to the Episcopal Church than if he had preached against it for twenty years. When brought to the scaffold, he sat upon the ladder for some time, and with the utmost composure addressed himself to the people. He said that every step in the ladder was a degree nearer heaven. At the last, when about to be turned off, he exclaimed in an impassioned strain of eloquence, which suffused every eye but his own with tears, "Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations! farewell the world and all delights! farewell sun, moon, and stars! Welcome. God and father! welcome sweet Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant! welcome blessed spirit of grace and all consolation! welcome glory, welcome eternal life, welcome death!" Oldmixon, the English historian, remarks, that this surpasses all the dving addresses of the martyrs of antiquity.

A commission was also despatched to the provinces, to try such persons as had been concerned in the insurrection, but had not appeared at Pentland. Four were executed at Glasgow, seven at Ayr, and two at Irvine. Public sentiment here revolted from the bloody proceedings of the government, insomuch that the very executioners refused to do their duty. The seven men at Ayr were hanged by a companion, who was induced to perform the office in consequence of a promise of his own life. At Irvine the case was still more striking. The executioner there was a poor Highlander of the name of Sutherland, who had come from the most northerly and least civilized portion of Scotland, but was sufficiently acquainted with religion to know that these men suffered only for its sake. When commanded to do his duty, he positively refused; all modes of persuasion were tried, but he answered clergy, judges, and nobles, with acriptural quotations

which confounded them; and, when threats were attempted, he 'was found as ready to become a martyr as the most enthusiastic of the late insurgents. He was eventually desired to go on his way and trouble them no more. The severities of the government were concluded some months after by an act of forfeiture against fifty persons, fifteen of whom were clergymen.

In all these cruelties, the new system of Church-government was so completely identified with the persecuting party, that the antipathy to it only increased. Men could not see the Primate of a Church presiding at a scene of torture, placing his name at the head of every obnoxious edict, and exerting himself personally to bring speedy vengeance upon his opponents, without placing the whole mischief to the account of that Church, and looking upon it as in some measure the reverse of what it professed to be—an establishment for the suppression instead of the support of religion. The King was now so far sunk in his wretched indulgences, as to pay but little attention to the interests of his country; but yet the flagrant oppressions exercised in Scotland under the name of religion did occasionally startle him, and he is said to have frequently proposed lenient measures, which, however, he too often permitted to be baulked by his ministers, and by the Scottish clergy themselves. A division which took place in the Privy Council in 1667, and the ascendancy of a more moderate party under the Earls of Tweeddale and Kincardine, procured a short breathing-time for the Presbyterians; and the government made one or two attempts at an accommodation. Bonds were then the grand engines of government. (a fashion set by the Covenant.) and it was proposed that every man might be spared further persecution, if he would only sign what was called "a bond of peace." An Act of Indulgence was at the same time offered to the clergy, proposing that they might be restored to such parish churches as were vacant, if they would take collation from the bishop of the diocese, or even that they might still be provided for out of a certain fund, without taking such collation, if they would simply give assurance that they would live in a peaceable manner. But, while the Church thus virtually abandoned its power, and the government supposed that all pretence for conventicles was taken away, the greater part of the ejected clergy, regarding everything with suspicion which came from that quarter, utterly refused to accept of the proffered bounty upon such conditions. Their only objection was, that the Indulgence implied their acknowledgment of the King's supremacy in the Church, which was altogether contrary to the fundamental doctrine of Presbytery, that they owed obedience to Christ alone. Only about forty, therefore, availed themselves of the Indulgence. The remainder held out in defiance of the government, and declaimed as loudly against their indulged brethren as against the nominees of the bishops. former they styled Erastians, on account of their submission to a civil power in ecclesiastical matters. A somewhat similar fate befel the Bond of Peace. It was generally refused, on the score that those who took it must be held as renouncing all power to interfere with the concerns of the state. And so, it will be observed, mild measures were found of as little avail as the former severity. The minds of men had been, in reality, rendered so delicately irritable by the late events, that, when the period of grace arrived, it was only looked upon as a new and more insidious plan of persecution.

About the year 1670 the people began to hold conventicles in the fields, to which some of them came armed. The government of course considered these meetings the less justifiable, as it had already given up every point in the state religion except the mere supremacy of the King; and accordingly very severe fines were imposed upon all who could be found guilty of attending them. There was no difference in the form of worship practised at these and at more legal assemblies; but the very clandestine nature of the former seemed to give them a relish, and it may easily be conceived that, under the present circumstances of the country, the declamations of a clergy perfectly unfettered by respect for the State, would be more attractive than the more guarded and less exciting harangues of the licensed ministers. The memoirs of the Presbyterians themselves speak in high terms of the spiritual efficacy of the field sermons, where, in their own phrase, there was often much of the "divine presence." Every attempt which was made during a succession of years to repress the system, only seemed

to give it greater strength; buildings were eventually erected for the purpose of hearing the ministrations of persecuted clergymen; and men at last began to defend themselves by force of arms, when the soldiery endeavoured to disperse them.

There was at this period no such interchange of intelligence between England and Scotland as has since been brought about by the establishment of newspapers; but still the progress of free opinion in the former country generally had some effect in the north. In the year 1673, the English House of Commons endeavoured to put down the infamous ministry styled the Cabal, which had undertaken to destroy the national liberties, and pave the way for a declaration of popery on the part of the King, who had now been secretly brought over to that faith. The Duke of Lauderdale, who was one of this junto, having been voted "a grievance" at Westminster, came down to open the Scottish Parliament as the royal commissioner; but, when he asked for subsidies, the Duke of Hamiliton and other patriotic noblemen met him with an unexpected resistance, and he was obliged to dissolve the assembly. The Duke of Hamilton also made several attempts, personally, to acquaint King Charles with the state of the public mind in Scotland, and to recommend a change of measures; but, though he invariably made an impression upon the mind of the monarch, it was soon effaced by the influence of Lauderdale, to whom, for many years, his Majesty had submitted implicitly through the mere force of habit. The efforts of the Duke of Hamilton were the more generous, that they were made at the hazard of a charge of leasing-making, or libel against the government, which, by the law of Scotland, was a capital offence, and for many ages rendered all amelioration of the state system very difficult.

In July 1668, a preacher named Mitchell, of inferior attainments, but great enthusiam, had attempted to assassinate Archbishop Sharpe, who was justly regarded as a prime instrument of the government. The shot missed the Archbishop, but mortally wounded the Bishop of Orkney. Some years after, the man was apprehended, and, on promise of his life, confessed his guilt. He was kept in prison for some years longer, and at length in

1678, upon some pretence that he had abandoned the advantage of his former confession, he was condemned on the evidence of the Archbishop, and executed. The crime was not so odious among his party as to extinguish their sympathy, or blind them to a sense of his judicial wrongs; accordingly, this wretched man was looked upon by them as a kind of martyr. At the same period the prosecution for field meetings became more than ever severe. A calculation has been made that, previously to 1678, seventeen thousand persons had suffered fining and imprisonment on this account. The government resolved to try the expedient of pressing the subscription of a bond renouncing conventicles; and, to support them in their efforts, an army of ten thousand men was collected at Stirling, of whom the greater part were Highlanders. At the end of January this cavalier host was let loose upon the western counties, with instructions to enforce fines from all who would not take the bond. The resistance was passive, but universal. Only twenty out of two or three thousand householders in Lanarkshire could be prevailed upon to abandon a mode of worship which possessed so many charms. They rather submitted to see themselves spoiled of a great share of their worldly goods, than to do that which they believed would peril their eternal welfare. Even the nobles, and other conspicuous persons, who lay most open to state persecution, generally refused the bond. The Scottish council was deeply mortified at the constancy of the people, for they had expected a rebellion, which would have justified them in far severer measures. Lauderdale, it is said, bared his arms above the elbow at the Council Board, and swore, using the most sacred name of the Deity, that he would make them enter into these bonds. After a month, however, finding the attempt ineffectual, he was obliged to order the army awav. The Highland Host, as it was called, left a deep impression upon the memory of those who experienced its oppressions. It is not alleged that the mountaineers shed much blood, but they freely helped themselves to whatever moveable articles they took a fancy for. As they returned to the north, the whole country seemed to be removing its household furniture from one district to another. Some of the Cavalier nobles of Angus, who held command in the army, were also said to have profited much by the enterprise. Ayrshire, alone, suffered losses to the amount of twelve thousand pounds sterling, which, in those days, was a very large sum.

A deep spirit of resentment against the council, and especially the prelatic part of it, was the natural result of all these occurrences. The worst passions of human nature mingled themselves with the purest and noblest aspirations; and men appealed, in language of bitterness, from the iniquity of their earthly rulers, to the justice of God. The wisest and best natures were perverted by excess of feeling, and as a precious crystal, dashed into pieces, forms the most dangerous footing, so did the spirit of genuine piety, in this instance, broken and harrassed by persecution, become invested with a power of annoyance which never belongs to it in its proper state. On the 3rd of May (1679), while the public mind was in this condition, a small party of Fife gentlemen went out with the deliberate intention of assassinating the sheriff at a chase. Disappointed in that object, they had not dispersed when a greater fell in their way. As they were riding over Magus Moor, near St. Andrews, Archbishop Sharpe happened to pass on his way from Edinburgh to that city. The opportunity appeared to their minds as a dispensation of Providence. One of them rode up, and, cutting the traces of the coach with his sword, caused it to stop. The next then came up, crying, "Judas, be taken." They commanded him to come out of the coach, apparently that his daughter, who was with him, might not suffer from their shot. The Archbishop tremblingly obeved: he flung himself upon his knees, offered them mercy. forgiveness, everything, so that they would spare his life. The leader sternly reminded him of the deadly injuries he had inflicted upon the Church and its martyrs, and particularly of his late treachery to the assassin Mitchell. A volley of shot was poured upon his suppliant figure, but from the agitation they were in hardly took any effect upon him. They concluded that he bore a charm from the devil for protecting himself from lead, and accordingly tried the effect of "cold steel." The unhappy churchman was hewed down with their swords, crying for mercy with his latest breath. They then left his daughter lamenting over his body, which was afterwards found to bear such marks of their barbarity as could scarcely be credited. They carried with them some papers belonging to the Archbishop, but which were found to be of no consequence. After spending the afternoon together, inspecting those papers, they dispersed.

CHAPTER VII.

PERSECUTION CONTINUED-THE REVOLUTION.

The assassination of Sharpe produced a great alarm among the remaining members of the government, each of whom knew how much he had done to provoke the same fate. In another respect it was perhaps a matter of rejoicing to these men, as it afforded them an excuse for exercising additional severities upon the Presbyterians. This party never by any formal act expressed their approval of the deed; indeed, many of them must have felt that it was a precipitate and ominous transaction. Neither, however, did they ever express themselves as offended by the violence of their brethren; and even half a century after the event, their historians are more anxious to show that the Archbishop deserved his fate, than to apologise for the barbarity of his murderers.

The blame of the murder has been the more plausibly thrown upon the whole party, that it was immediately followed by an insurrection. On the 29th of May, which was the King's birthday, a party of about eighty deliberately marched into the town of Rutherglen, three miles from Glasgow, where they publicly burnt all the Acts of Parliament against Presbytery. They afterwards extinguished the bonfires, in order to mark their disapprobation of all holidays of human institution, and concluded by fixing upon the cross a declaration of their sentiments respect-

ing the late proceedings of the government. Having done this. they retired to a mountainous part of the country between Lanarkshire and Avrshire, where there was to be a grand conventicle on the ensuing Sunday. The government looked upon this proceeding as an act of rebellion, and dispatched a party of troops after the offenders, consisting of three troops of newly levied dragoons, under the command of Captain Graham of Claverhouse (afterwards Viscount Dundee), who had recently entered the King's service in Scotland. On Sunday, Graham came up with the insurgents, at a place near Loudoun hill, where they had assembled at devotion. They amounted to about forty horse, and two hundred foot, and were under the command of a gentleman named Hamilton, but without the least discipline or acquaintance with military affairs. Graham fired a volley, which they eluded in a great measure by falling upon their faces. He then tried to charge them through a morass, behind which they were placed, but in doing so threw his men into confusion. and exposed himself to the assault of the enemy. They took instant advantage of his distress; attacked the dragoons sword in hand, and soon compelled them to retire. Graham had his horse shot under him, and about twenty of his men were slain, while only one of the insurgents had fallen. A minister and some country people whom he had brought along with him as prisoners were rescued by the victors.

The broken dragoons retreated to Glasgow, which was then a depot of troops for the superintendance of the west country, of whom it now contained about eight hundred. The insurgents, flushed with their success, and thinking it safer to go on than to draw back, marched forward next morning to that city, with considerably increased forces. The troops barricaded the streets, so that the country people could make little impression upon them, while they were greatly exposed in their turn. During the brief attack upon the barricades, their commander, Hamilton, is said to have ensconced himself in a house at some distance. Eight were slain in this needless encounter; the rest retreated in rather low spirits to Hamilton, where they formed a kind of camp.

Their numbers were here augmented in a short time to about five thousand, chiefly peasants and farmers of Lanarkshire, Ayr-

shire, and Galloway, but comprising also a few gentlemen of property, though none of any note. Hamilton continued to exercise a nominal command, though rather from his having been the leading man at the commencement, than from any idea of his fitness for the situation. All of them had arms, and many of them horses; but there was neither discipline, nor any attempt to impose it. The whole insurrection proceeded upon mere impulse. The unfortunate people could never reasonably hope that a formal appearance in arms against the government was to be productive of any good, so long as the King possessed the whole power of England, besides that of a strong party in Scotland. They acted, it would appear, simply from the pressure of immediate circumstances, glad to protect themselves for a while against an oppression they could no longer endure, even at the risk of utter destruction.

The Privy Council collected all its disposable forces at Edinburgh, and requested instructions from the court. speedily determined that the Duke of Monmouth should be sent down to take command of the army. This was the eldest natural son of the King; a youth of gentle character, anxious for popularity, and intimately connected with the English non-conformists. whom he expected to favour him in his views upon the succession. The Duke arrived in Edinburgh on the 19th of June, and slowly led forward the army to meet the insurgents. He marched very slowly, in order, as was supposed, to afford them an opportunity of dispersing; but they showed no disposition to avail themselves of his kindness. They had spent the three weeks during which they had existed as an army, not in training themselves to arms, or arranging themselves into proper divisions, but in disputing about the spiritual objects for which they were One great cause of division was the Indulgence, which some were for condemning, and others for overlooking; they were also greatly divided as to the propriety of acknowledging their allegiance to the King. In these abstractions they lost all sense of the practical measures required in present circumstances. They called such things "trusting in the arm of flesh." for which, of course, they could adduce an abundance of condemnatory texts.

On Sunday, the 22nd of June, Monmouth had advanced to Bothwell, a village about a mile distant from the insurgent camp. The river Clyde ran between the two armies, and was only to be crossed by Bothwell Bridge, a long narrow pass, highly capable of defence. The non-conformists, who lay upon the ground beyond the bridge, were still, even at this late moment, holding high disputes, and there was even a proposal for remodelling the army, and appointing new officers. The moderate party sent two gentlemen in disguise-Mr. David Hume and the Laird of Kaitloch-to present a supplication to the Duke, in which it was proposed to disperse, on the condition that their grievances should be redressed. But Monmouth was unable, from his instructions. to treat with them unless they should have first laid down their arms. He charged the two deputies with a message to that effect, threatening, if they did not throw themselves upon his mercy within half an hour, that he should advance with his army. When these gentlemen returned, they found the army on the point of falling to pieces through dissension. In truth, many must have now been only seeking for occasion to withdraw themselves from an adventure which they saw to be ruinous. most zealous and clamorous were the first to retire. The rest remained, unable either to take advantage of the Duke's proposal, or to prepare for giving him battle. At the time he had specified, he advanced his troops to the brink of the river, and sent a large party to force the passage of the bridge. That point was stoutly defended, for nearly an hour, by some men from Galloway and Stirlingshire, under Hackstoun of Rathillet. At length, when their ammunition ran short, they sent back to the main body for a supply, which was denied. They were of course obliged to retire, and leave a free passage to the royal troops. Even after a considerable number of dragoons had come over, a brave man, Weir of Greenridge, was willing to have attacked them with a party of horse; but as he was advancing to do so, he was checked by Hamilton, who asked if he designed to murder his men. Weir answered that he hoped to be able to make an impression upon the dragoons, seeing that they had not as yet formed; but the poor-spirited commander then addressed himself to the men, and, by representing the difficulties and dangers of such an attempt, persuaded them to stay. The chief object of this personage appears to have been to prevail upon his men to fly. He now set the example himself, and it was followed by the horse in a body. The foot, then left defenceless, could not stand an instant against the charge of the enemy. Excepting twelve hundred, who laid down their arms, the whole body took to flight, without having made the least effort at resistance. About three hundred were cut down in the pursuit.

The prisoners were brought in a body to Edinburgh, and confined, like sheep in a fold, within the gloomy precincts of the Greyfriars' Church-yard, where, for nearly five months, they had no seat or couch but the bare ground, and no covering but the sky. Two clergymen, Kid and King, were executed. Of the rest, all were set at liberty who would own the insurrection to have been rebellion, and the slaughter of the Archbishop murder, and promise never more to take up arms against the government. Those who refused were sent to the Plantations; a mode of disposing prisoners which had been introduced by Cromwell.

. Under all the severities of this bloody and tyrannical reign, the spirit of English liberty was still kept alive. The King had been long married without any children. His brother, the Duke of York, was therefore heir presumptive. But this Prince, besides being a man of severe and gloomy nature, had unfitted himself for governing a Protestant people by becoming a convert to the Catholic faith. An attempt was made in the House of Commons to pass an act for excluding him from the succession. It was read a second time by a majority of 207 against 128; and the King only evaded the question by proroguing the Parliament. Duke, seeing himself so unpopular in England, resolved to make friends, if possible, in Scotland; so that, in the event of any resistance to his succession in the former country, he might bring up an army of the less scrupulous Scotch to his assistance. He therefore paid a visit to Edinburgh in November, 1679, and revived the long dormant court of Holyrood House. As the persecution had been in a great measure a local affair, it operated little against his present views. The gentry, except in the north-west district, were chiefly Cavaliers; in the Highlands, altogether so. Among a people remote from a court, the mere

presence of royalty—its slightest acts of condescension—are sure to communicate a favourable impression, although, perhaps, unaccompanied by the least merit or virtue in the royal person. The stately graces of the Duke of York, even in a city where men were every week suffering death and torture for conscience-sake, procured him a degree of affection which was not extinguished by his own subsequent exile, but shone out, many years after, upon his proscribed descendants.

The Duke returned at the end of February, 1680, to London. The distresses of the Presbyterians now caused the rise of a new and more fanatical sect, who renounced their allegiance, and issued anathemas not only against their persecutors, but against the great mass of their brethren, who had submitted to the government. A minister named Cargill was the leader of this party, and on an attempt being made to seize him, a paper was found, in which he had embodied its sentiments. He and his associate, Cameron, with about twenty armed men, appeared at Sanguhar on the 22nd of June, and there affixed upon the marketcross a declaration, in which they disavowed all obedience to the King, and protested against the succession of the Duke of York. Cameron was soon after killed, with some of his friends, at Airdsmoss, and Hackstoun of Rathillet was seized and executed. Cargill, so far from being deterred, held a large conventicle at Torwood, where he formally delivered over the King, his brother. and ministers, to Satan, after the usual forms of excommunica-He was soon after taken prisoner and hanged. The whole proceedings of this sect were seriously injurious to the great body of Presbyterians; as the government, wilfully overlooking all remonstrances to the contrary, held all that was done as criminating the whole body, and took occasion from that to exercise greater severities.

In October, 1680, the Duke of York was again obliged, by the patriotic party in England, to take up his residence at Holyrood House. A bill for excluding him from the throne was now actually passed by the House of Commons, but was lost in the House of Lords by thirty-three against thirty. On Christmas day, the spirit of the Scottish people against a Catholic successor was manifested by the students of the Edinburgh University

versity, who, notwithstanding every effort to prevent them, publicly burnt the Pope in effigy. A Parliament, the first for nine years, sat down in July, 1681, the Duke acting as commissioner. A test oath was here framed, to be taken by all persons in public trusts, as an assurance of their loyalty; but it turned out to be such a jumble of contradictory obligations, that many persons, including eighty of the established clergy, refused to take it. The Earl of Argyle, son to the late Marquis, and a faithful friend to the Protestant religion, would only receive it with an explanation, which was held to be an act of treason, and he was accordingly tried and condemned to death. The real object of this prosecution was to destroy a powerful Highland chief, who might be disposed to use his influence against the succession of the Duke of York. His Lordship contrived to escape to Holland.

In the latter part of this year, the party left by Cargill and Cameron arranged themselves into a secret society, and on the 12th of January, 1682, published at Lanark a declaration of adherence to the transactions at Sanquhar, which they affected to consider as the work of a convention of estates. This, of course, only provoked new severities.

In March, 1682, the Duke of York returned to England, in order to hold a conference with the King. In May, coming back for his family, his vessel was wrecked on a sand-bank near Yarmouth, when a hundred and fifty persons perished, including some of the first quality. After spending about a week in Edinburgh, he returned to England. He is said to have used the atrocious expression, that it would never be well with Scotland till the country south of the Forth was reduced to the condition of a hunting-field.

The ancient Presbyterian spirit was now reduced so low, or so many of the clergy of that kind were destroyed and imprisoned, that there was not a single individual who preached in defiance of the King's supremacy. The united societies, as the more fanatical termed themselves, were obliged to send a youth named Renwick to Groningen, in Belgium, in order to study divinity and receive ordination, as they could not in any other way obtain a preacher. A general disposition to emigration

began to arise; and some gentlemen proposed to sell their property, and become settlers in the new colony of Carolina. While engaged at London in making the proper arrangements, they came in contact with the patriots of the House of Commons. who, defeated in the Exclusion Bill, were concerting measures for bringing about a change of government. Common desperation made them friends; and a correspondence was opened with the Earl of Argyle in Holland, for an invasion from that quarter. in collusion with an insurrection in England. Some subordinate members of the conspiracy plotted the assassination of the King; and, being discovered, the whole affair was brought to light. Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney were executed. Baillie of Jerviswood was transmitted to Scotland, and there, under the most iniquitous circumstances, subjected to the same fate. It was now hardly possible, by any course of conduct, to gain assurance of not being prosecuted. Masters were held liable for servants: landlords for their tenants: fathers for their wives and children: and to have the least intercourse with a proscribed person was the same as to be actually guilty. The soldiery were now permitted by an Act of Parliament to execute the laws without trial. If any one, therefore, refused to answer certain questions, or gave rise to suspicion by running away, he was shot. Numbers thus perished in the fields and on the highways. In short, the reign of Charles II. terminated, February 6, 1685, amidst a scene of oppression, bloodshed, and spoil, such as was never before witnessed in the country, even in the most barbarous times.

The Duke of York now succeeded to the throne, under the title of James II. This Prince was as much disposed as the last to render himself absolute; and so much had the national spirit been depressed by the severities of the late reign, that it is probable he might have succeeded in that object, if he had only been a little more prudent about his religion.

The Duke of Monmouth, who had pretended to the crown as a legitimate son of Charles II., now resided in exile at Brussels. He had ingratiated himself with the dissenters in England, and hoped by their assistance to dethrone the new monarch. He formed a design, in concert with the Earl of Argyle, for an

invasion of the island. The latter nobleman set sail in May, and, after touching at the Orkneys, descended upon the west of Scotland where he was joined by two thousand five hundred of his clan. Unfortunately, a boat's crew whom he sent on shore at Orkney were taken prisoners, and gave information of his design. The bishop of that diocese immediately carried the intelligence to Edinburgh. The militia of the kingdom was called out. The gentlemen of Argyle's clan were seized and brought to the capital. The Earl, finding all his prospects blighted, made a hesitating and timid advance towards Glasgow, where he hoped to be joined by the persecuted people of the west. The government forces advancing on every hand to meet him, his troops melted away from him, and, as he had been a participator in the measures of the late reign, he was not a commander to be trusted by the Covenanters. After pursuing a solitary flight for a little way in disguise, he was taken prisoner at Inchinnan in Renfrewshire, and transported to Edinburgh. where he was immediately executed upon his former sentence.

The expedition which Monmouth conducted to the west of England was equally unfortunate, and that nobleman being seized under similar circumstances, was also executed. The King took the opportunity afforded by these suppressed insurrections to exercise still more dreadful cruelties than any which had been formerly suffered. Under the management of a judge named Jeffreys, hundreds of people in the district where Monmouth had found support, were executed almost without the ceremony of a trial. The country of Argyle was ravaged in a somewhat different style, but with equal cruelty, and the general persecution became still more fierce. The King showed his own feeling respecting these transactions by speaking of the bloody circuit made by his English judge as "Jeffreys' campaign." He would appear to have now abandoned all hope of ruling over his people, except by the aid of mere terror.

From the commencement of his reign he had taken no pains to conceal his religion. Encouraged by these suppressed rebellions, he now thought that he might safely attempt to convert the nation back to the Roman Catholic faith.

As the law stood, no papist could hold any office in the state.

They were excluded, in both kingdoms, by a test oath, abjuring the errors of popery. Early in 1686, James endeavoured to get an act passed in both Parliaments for dispensing with this oath, so that he might be enabled to introduce men of his own religion into all places of trust, which he judged to be the best way of proselytising the people at large. But, to his great surprise, the same Parliaments which had already declared his temporal power to be nearly absolute, refused to yield to him on the subject of religion. Neither entreaties nor threats could prevail upon them to pass the necessary acts. In Scotland, the Duke of Queensberry, Sir George Mackenzie, and other statesmen, who had hitherto been the readiest to yield him obedience in all his most odious measures, submitted rather to be disgraced than to surrender up the religion along with the liberties of the nation.

This is a point in our national history well worthy of being considered. It will be observed that the arbitrary character of the present and the late government had been both created and submitted to, in consequence of the disasters to which the prosecution of liberty during the civil wars had reduced the nation. The monarchs, on the one hand, thought that no firm government was to be obtained, unless by fixing those arbitrary principles in which their father, Charles I., had been defeated. The people, terrified at the idea of another military or republican tyranny, had yielded to those demands on the part of the Sovereign, and were now ruled by a despot almost as absolute as the Czar of Russia. But though the civil liberties of the nation were thus surrendered, there was still a great point reserved. Religion, which had been the prime motive of the civil wars, was a principle which even the most abject would not submit to see violated. A struggle was therefore commenced on this point, and when the people became victorious, they regained their civil liberty also.

When James found that the Parliaments would not yield to him, he dissolved them, and, pretending that he had only asked their consent out of courtesy, assumed to himself the right of dispensing with the test. This was establishing a power in the Crown to subvert any act of Parliament, and consequently no law

could henceforth stand against the royal pleasure. If it had been assumed upon a temporal point, it is not probable that any resistance would have been made; for the right of the King to do as he pleased, and the illegality of all opposition to his will on the part of the people, were principles now very generally considered as part of the divine law itself. But it fortunately concerned the existence of the Church of England, and the religious prepossessions of the great majority of the people. There was therefore an almost universal spirit of resistance.

In order to give his measures an appearance of fairness, James granted a toleration to all kinds of dissenters from the Established Church, including, of course, the persecuted people of the west of Scotland. Many of the English dissenters took advantage of this indulgence, and suddenly became very loyal to the King. But while it deeply offended the members of the Church itself, it was regarded with scorn by the earnest Presbyterians of Scotland, as a gift which never could have been conferred upon them, unless for the purpose of including their greatest enemies, the Catholics. The support which James acquired by this act was very trifling, compared with what he lost. Even the Episcopal clergy of Scotland, who had been the most zealous advocates of passive obedience and non-resistance, were loud in their indignation.

In the height of his power, James had deprived the boroughs of both kingdoms of their charters, and granted new ones, in which he was left the power of nominating the magistracies. He took advantage of this liberty to put Catholics into every kind of burgal office. He also attempted to get men of the same religion introduced into the chief seats in the universities.

What rendered these events the more odious to the nation was the revocation of the edict of Nantes by the King of France, in consequence of which the Protestants of that kingdom were subjected to a cruel persecution at the hands of their Catholic brethren. The people of Great Britain received about fifty thousand of these innocent persons under their protection; and as they were diffused over the whole country, they everywhere served as living proofs of Catholic intolerance and cruelty. The British saw that if the King were not resisted in his endeavours to introduce popery, they would soon be groaning in hopeless

subjection to a small dominant party, if not driven, like the French Protestants, far from their homes and native seats of industry, to wander like beggars over the earth.

The King had commanded the clergy to read in their pulpits an edict of universal toleration. Several of the bishops, after ascertaining that the whole body almost to a man would support them, presented a petition to the King, in which they respectfully excused themselves from obeying his command. For this they were thrown into the Tower, and brought to trial, but, to the great joy of the nation, acquitted.

At this time, (June 1688), the birth of a son to the King threw the nation into a state of extreme anxiety for the ultimate interests of the Protestant religion. It is to be observed that, if this Prince had not come into the world, the crown would have fallen, in the course of time, to the King's daughter Mary, who, for some years, had been married to the Prince of Orange. This lady being a Protestant, and the King being now advanced in life, the people had hitherto cherished a prospect of seeing the Protestant faith eventually secured under her sway. But now the Protestant line was excluded, and with it all hope was at an end. To add to the general dissatisfaction, there was much cause to suspect that the child was a spurious one, brought forward for the purpose of keeping up a popish line of succession. The nation was therefore in every respect ripe for a general revolt.

The court of the Prince of Orange had long been a resort to the British malcontents. The Prince himself was strongly inclined, for reasons of general policy as well as of personal ambition, to attempt a revolution in England. Being invited by a great number of influential persons, of both sides in politics, including some of the clergy, he no longer hesitated to make preparations for an invasion. In October he set sail with an army of about sixteen thousand men, and on the 5th of November cast anchor in Torbay, in Devonshire, while the King's fleet lay wind-bound at Harwich. James had surrounded himself with a standing army; but, as generally happens, it partook of the almost universal feeling of the people, and was not to be depended on. Even with the assistance of a less scrupulous force from Scotland, he could hardly venture to risk an engagement with the

Prince, to whose standard a great number of the nobility had already resorted. He therefore retired before the advancing army to London, and was immediately deserted by all his principal counsellors, and even by his younger daughter, the Princess Anne. Feeling no support around him, he first despatched the Queen and her infant to France, and then prepared to follow. In the disguise of a servant, he escaped down the river to Feversham. but being there seized by the populace as a popish refugee, he was brought back to London. It was found, however, that the government could not be settled on a proper footing while he remained in the country; and he was therefore permitted once more to depart. He left the kingdom in the belief that the people could not do without him, and would call him back in triumph; but they had now begun to entertain less fear of anarchy than of despotism, and nothing, in reality, could have been more agreeable to them than his departure.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE UNION.

In Scotland this deliverance from popery and arbitrary power was hailed with still more enthusiasm than in England. The Covenanters of the west ran to arms, and, as there was no soldiery to repress them, they immediately began to take advantage of the turn of affairs to expel the obnoxious clergy from their churches. The populace of Edinburgh attacked the palace and Chapel-royal, and having gained the post with some slaughter on both sides, stripped the latter building of all its popish furniture. The local government dissolved itself in terror, and the Chancellor, (Earl of Perth,) who had turned Catholic to please his Sovereign, took flight to France, but was seized in the Firth of Forth, and thrown into prison. In short, the spirit of the people, which was in favour of a moderate monarchy, with a Presbyterian Church, became everywhere triumphant.

In January, 1689, about a hundred Scottish noblemen and gentlemen assembled at Whitehall, and, having previously ascertained the disposition of their countrymen, resolved to follow the example of England, by offering the supreme management of their affairs to the Prince of Orange. A Convention was consequently appointed by the Prince to meet at Edinburgh on the 14th of March. This assembly, which was elected by the people at large, excluding only the Catholics, experienced at first some embarrassment from the adherents of King James. The Duke of Gordon still held the castle in that interest, and was able, if he pleased, to bombard the Parliament-house with his Graham of Claverhouse, now created Viscount of Dundee, was also in Edinburgh with a number of his dragoons. and every day attended the assembly. On the other hand, an immense number of the westland Whigs, or Cameronians (as they were called from one of their ministers), had flocked to the city. where they were concealed in garrets and cellars. Dundee, when he saw that there was a majority of the Convention hostile to his old master, concerted with the Earl of Mar and Marquis of Athole a plan for holding a counter-Convention at Stirling, after the manner of the Royalist Parliament held at Oxford by Charles I. In the expectation that his friends would have been ready to accompany him, he brought out his troops of dragoons to the street; but finding their minds somewhat changed, he was obliged to take his departure by himself, as the parading of armed men so near the Parliament-house would have subjected him to a charge of treason. He therefore rode out of the city with only a small squadron, and clambering up the castle rock, held a conference with the Duke of Gordon at a postern, where it was resolved upon between them that he should go to raise the Highland clans for King James, while his Grace should continue to hold out the castle.

The liberal members of the Convention took advantage of this movement to summon the people to arms for their protection, and they were instantly surrounded by hundreds of armed Cameronians, who completely overawed the adherents of the late government. The Convention then declared King James to have forfeited the crown, by his attempts to overcome the religion and

liberties of his subjects. The sovereignty of Scotland was settled, like that of England, upon the next Protestant heirs, the Prince and Princess of Orange, who were accordingly proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 11th of April.

King James had now returned from France to Ireland, which, being chiefly a Catholic country, was strongly disposed in his Having at once regained nearly the whole of this populous kingdom, he began to entertain very confident hopes of a complete restoration. Under promise of immediate assistance from Ireland, Dundee was encouraged in his design of raising an insurrection in the Highlands of Scotland, where the people were, from habits of feeling, strongly attached to the cause. King William had so much to contend against in Ireland, that he was only able to send down about eleven hundred of his Dutch infantry, with two hundred dragoons, to Scotland. These were under the command of Major-General Mackay, an officer of some experience, but unable to cope with the genius of his opponent. Dundee was recommended to the Highlanders by so many befitting qualifications, that even those who had been treated with severity under the late government, readily entered his service. He was inspired with a desire of rivalling his great namesake, Montrose, and there were no hardships, no privations, which he would not endure in order to secure the attachment of his men.

A war of marching and countermarching was for some time kept up by Dundee and Mackay. At length the latter found himself in possession of so many troops that he resolved to penetrate the Highlands, and establish a fort at Inverlochy, now Fort William, for the purpose of keeping the country in check. On the 27th of July he left Dunkeld with four thousand five hundred soldiers, the greater part of them cavalry, and entered the pass of Killiecranky, which gives admission to the district of Athole. In the afternoon, after a march of twenty miles, he gained the open country beyond, where Dundee had drawn up about two thousand five hundred of the clans to receive him. Mackay arranged his men in one long line, without any reserve, and about an hour before sunset Dundee descended upon him from the hills. The impetuosity of the Highlanders drove every-

thing before them. After giving one fire with their muskets, they drew their swords, and rushed with a deafening shout against the thin line of their opponents. The whole of General Mackay's army, except a small portion which remained firm around himself, were swept down into the valley below, where many hundreds sunk under the swords of the Highlanders, or were drowned in the river. A promiscuous multitude sought to escape by the pass, but either overthrew each other, or were cut down by the victors. General Mackay with great difficulty saved the small remaining part of his forces, by leading them, in the dusk of the evening, across the hills. He reached Stirling Castle on the second day after, with only two hundred out of more than four thousand men.

This defeat might have been very disastrous to the new government, if Dundee had remained in life to improve it. He had been killed, however, by a random shot, which penetrated his breast after the action was decided. But for that circumstance, the Cavalier army must have been able to reduce nearly the whole of Scotland to King James, which would have prevented King William from going to Ireland. Some efforts were made by King James to maintain the war in Scotland. An Irish officer of the name of Cannan was sent over to assume the chief command; but he was unable to direct the energies of this singular people. After some trivial rencontres, the war expired, and the whole of Scotland fell peaceably under the dominion of the new sovereigns. Ireland, in like manner, was reduced, in consequence of the celebrated victory gained by King William over the native army at the Boyne.

It is understood that, if circumstances would have permitted, King William would have rather continued to maintain the Episcopal Church in Scotland than establish any other. Finding, however, that the bishops remained faithful to King James, he was compelled to take the Presbyterians under his protection. The Convention, changed by the royal mandate into a Parliament, proceeded in July to abolish prelacy in the Church, and to establish the moderate Presbyterianism, which still exists. All the clergy formerly in possession of churches were permitted to retain them, if they felt disposed to accede to the new system, and take the

oaths to government. The Solemn League and Covenant, though still supported by a party, was overlooked, as applicable to a different state of things. The clergy were deprived of the power of inflicting a civil punishment by means of excommunication. General Assemblies and other Church Courts were restored, with independent powers, in ecclesiastical matters, and, the act of supremacy being abolished, Christ was understood to reign as formerly over the Church. The clergy, nevertheless, tacitly admitted the King to be their patron and nursing father, and while the moderator of the assemblies convened and dissolved them in the name of Christ, the King's commissioner, or representative, was also allowed to do the same in the name of the Sovereign. Upon the whole, the establishment of a Church so suitable to the popular taste, so unassuming in its external deportment, and supported in such an economical way, by funds raised without disturbance out of the produce of the land, was a fortunate event for Scotland, and the cause, without doubt, of much of its prosperity and happiness.

Another national institution of great importance was also settled at this time, namely, the system of parish schools. Although various attempts had been made at earlier periods to establish these founts of elementary learning, it is undeniable that, in their present form, they are the offspring of the Presbyterian Church, and have altogether been created and kept in existence as a part of that species of Church-government. By the law established after the Revolution, part of what was once church-property is set apart for endowing a school in each parish of the kingdom. In consideration of a few pounds thus bestowed, the schoolmaster obliges himself to teach the children of the poor gratuitously; the rest of his subsistence is derived from fees, which are paid by scholars of better rank. Thus, as the Scotch people are naturally of a contemplative disposition, and fond of instructing their minds, even at the expense of a little personal comfort, the whole population, from the highest to the very lowest rank, has, for several generations, been rescued from the lamentable condition of ignorance, and is now distinguished among other nations for all the good results of knowledge, namely, sobricty, mutual respect, and the power of bettering

their worldly circumstances. It was the remark of an English philosopher of the last century, that, in Scotland, every man had a mouthful of learning, but no man a full meal. The remark was not intended as a compliment; but, in reality, it is one of the highest that could have been paid to the country. The profound learning of the literary class in England is comparatively exclusive and inactive; the few become highly learned, but they do little for their fellows. They resemble, in fact, dark lanterns. which. however brilliantly illuminated within, give forth no light around. The Scotch, on the other hand, learn only as much as they can put to some actual and immediate use. Hardly any man learns but in order to instruct; and, indeed, a great number of the men educated for the Church are, during the whole of their career, as busy in teaching as they are in learning. The result of the diffusion of knowledge in Scotland, has been, not a greater irksomeness under a lowly condition, as might perhaps be expected, but a greater power of enduring it; not a habit of insubordination to those placed by Providence in superior situations, but a tranquil sense of the propriety of a gradation of ranks. Endowed with a good education, as with an inheritance, the Scotch migrate in immense numbers into other countries, where they seldom fail to establish themselves in offices superior to their native condition, on account of the comparative ignorance of individuals of their own rank in those countries. All this good may be traced to an Act of Parliament under William and Mary, laying aside, for popular education, a sum not amounting altogether to the half of what is drawn, every year, by a single prelate in less instructed countries.

If the new government had produced no other benefit than the establishment of the Presbyterian Church, and the system of parochial schools, it would have been entitled to the lasting gratitude of the country. Unfortunately, while this reign is the era of modern liberty, and was thus productive of beneficial national institutions, it is also blackened by one of the most atrocious deeds of cruelty, and one of the most severe acts of national persecution, that have ever been known in Scotland.

The Earl of Breadalbane had been entrusted with a large sum of money, to be distributed among the Highland chiefs, as the

VOL. II.

price of their obedience. As this nobleman was suspected by them of appropriating the most of this money to himself, they did not display such a disposition to remain at peace as was desired; and accordingly in August, 1691, a proclamation was issued, threatening with the military execution of fire and sword, all who should not give in their submission before the ensuing 1st of January. In order to tame the chiefs by some severe example, the state officers were anxious that a few should hold out, so as to give them an opportunity of punishing them in the way proposed. But it was found that all bad obeyed the proclamation in due time, except the chieftain of a small tribe of Macdonalds, inhabiting the wild valley of Glencoe, who, it appeared, was only prevented from being quite punctual by a mere accident. However, as Glencoe was obnoxious to the Earl of Breadalbane, and also to the Secretary of State, Sir John Dalrymple, all notice of the accident was suppressed, and an order was obtained from the King for visiting him with military execution. With malignant coolness, Dalrymple wrote instructions for a party of soldiers, directing them to choose the long stormy nights of winter for this service, so that any of the clan who should escape the swords of the military, might be sure to perish by exposure to the elements. "The winter," he said, "is the only season in which the Highlanders cannot elude us, or carry their wives, children, and cattle to the mountains. They cannot escape you; for what human constitution can endure to be long out of house? This is the proper season to maul them, in the long dark nights." "They must be all slaughtered," he afterwards added, " and the manner of execution must be sure, secret, and effectual."

This horrid duty could hardly have been performed by any ordinary soldiers. It was, therefore, committed to a militia composed of a clan generally hostile to the people of Glencoe. About four hundred of the Earl of Argyle's regiment, under the command of Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, entered the devoted valley about the end of January. For a fortnight they were entertained by the natives with Highland hospitality. Captain Campbell was often at the table of one of the chief's sons, who happened to be married to his own niece. On the evening before the appointed morning of execution, the two sons of Glencoe

were kept up late in Glenlyon's quarters, playing at cards, and he and two other officers had accepted an invitation to dine next day with the chief. About four in the morning of the 13th of February, the work of death was commenced. The aged chief was shot as he was rising from bed. Some of his domestics were also killed. The soldiers tore off the rings from his wife's fingers with their teeth, and she died next day in a state of distraction. Every little hamlet throughout the glen was attacked at the same time, and the inmates butchered without mercy. By a timely warning the two sons of the chief made their escape, but thirtyeight other persons were slaughtered, besides numbers that died in the snow, while endeavouring to save themselves by flight. An additional party was expected to arrive in time to stop up every avenue of escape; but it was fortunately impeded by the storm, and thus a few were saved who must have otherwise perished. Next day every house in the valley was destroyed, and the whole of the cattle and other property of the Macdonalds carried off.

The massacre of Glencoe, as it was justly called, excited a feeling of warm indignation against the persons concerned in it. and even against the King himself, although it is difficult to believe that so mild a sovereign as William could be aware of the real nature of the order which his ministers had procured from him. Some years after, the transaction was subjected to a parliamentary inquiry, which acquitted the King, and threw the principal blame upon Secretary Dalrymple, whose talents were by this means lost to his country, as he never afterwards could appear in any public business, nor even for some years take his seat in Parliament. It is certainly obvious that a monarch who had only lived three years in England, could not be well aware of the feelings which animated the remote Highlanders against each other, or of the sanguinary character of some of his Scottish statesmen, to which united causes, at least in the first instance, the peculiar severity of the execution is to be ascribed.

The prevailing fault of King William's government, so far as Scotland was concerned, was a neglect of its affairs. He had but one grand object in life, both before and after the Revolution, namely, the depression of France and of the Catholic interest in

Europe. Thus, for some years, he had very little intercourse with Scotland, except what consisted in the periodical demand of supplies from its Parliament, and the levying of troops amongst its population, both alike for the purpose of carrying on his continental wars. The offices of state he distributed equally amongst the vilest instruments of the late tyranny and the more liberal men of his own party; his chief confidence being bestowed upon a clergyman named Carstairs, who managed the most important measures, without being in the least responsible. Upon the whole, William was not a popular monarch in Scotland, although at first his rescuing the people from oppression had promised to make him so.

His Scottish reign was now darkened by an event which even yet can hardly be mentioned without awakening painfuls ensations. At this time there was a strong desire, throughout England, Holland, and other commercial countries, to participate in the East India trade, which was enjoyed exclusively by a company of London merchants. Taking advantage of this disposition, an ingenious Scotchman named William Paterson, who had already distinguished himself by projecting the Bank of England, suggested to the Scottish state-officers that they might establish something like a rival company in Scotland, to which the merchants of other countries might be admitted. As Scotland was quite independent of England, though governed by the same monarch, this scheme did not appear impracticable; and, as the King was anxious to appease the discontents of the north, he ratified the necessary Act of Parliament. The Scotch, having now got their religion settled to their minds, all at once directed the whole force of their genius to this commercial scheme, which they thought would render them almost instantaneously rich. Four hundred thousand pounds, being about half of all the actual money in the kingdom, was subscribed in a brief space of time; to which were added two hundred thousand subscribed by the merchants of Hamburgh and Holland, and three hundred thousand by those of London. It was the design of Paterson to settle upon a part of the isthmus of Darien, and there concentrate the productions of the East and West Indies into one depôt, whence they might be dispersed over all other countries.

It is a sufficient proof of the excellence of this scheme, that the English nation and Parliament immediately took the alarm lest a great part of their trade might be diverted to Scotland. The King was urged, through Parliament, to withdraw his countenance from the Scottish Trading Company; and those merchants who had subscribed to it were so much persecuted, that they were obliged to withdraw their support. William was also induced to take measures for alienating the merchants of Holland and Hamburgh. Even under these discouraging circumstances, the Scots by themselves resolved to prosecute their scheme. July 1698, five vessels sailed from Leith roads, having on board twelve hundred men, three hundred of whom were persons of birth. They landed in November at a place called Acta, midway between Portobello and Carthagena, and under the ninth degree of latitude. Having purchased ground from the Indians, they began to build a town called New Edinburgh, and a fort called St. Andrew; and during the winter months everything seemed likely to answer their expectations. Summer brought disease, and, on their provisions running low, they found that the colonists of America and the West Indies had been forbidden by roval proclamation to deal with them, even for the necessaries In May and September 1699, ere intelligence could reach home, two other expeditions had sailed, containing eighteen hundred men, who were involved on their arrival in the same After disease had swept off many hundreds, the disasters. remainder were attacked by the Spaniards, who pretended a right to the country; and to these haughty enemies, who were countenanced in their proceedings by the British Sovereign, the unfortunate colony was obliged to surrender. Very few ever regained their own country, and the money vested in the undertaking was irrecoverably lost.

As almost every family in Scotland had lost either wealth or kindred by this disaster, and as the calamity was chiefly owing to the unjust partiality of the King for a more powerful part of his dominions, it completely effaced from the minds of the Scotch all gratitude for the blessings of the Revolution. Henceforth William's government was the subject of more violent and more general discontent than even the tyranny of the

Stuarts. The real distress which arose from such an immense loss of money was, in 1700, increased by an uncommonly severe famine, which arose from several bad seasons.

In September 1701, James VII. who had been expelled at the Revolution, died in France, leaving a son, who was immediately proclaimed by Louis XIV. as King James the Third of England and Eighth of Scotland. William did not long survive his unfortunate relative. He died (March 8, 1702,) of a fever and ague, operating upon a weakly constitution. His consort having died some years before without children, he was succeeded by the next Protestant heir, Anne, second daughter of the late King James. It must be mentioned that, in 1700, the English Parliament had settled the crown of that country upon the Princess Sophia of Hanover, as the next Protestant heir after the Princess Anne. Sophia was descended from King James VI. through his daughter Elizabeth, and her son George was the reigning Elector of Hanover.

The present situation of Scotland, with respect to England, was in the highest degree alarming to that country. Incensed at the injuries received from King William, the Scotch were now very generally inclined to settle the sovereignty of their country upon a different person from the monarch of England. In the event of their choosing the son of James II., the crown of England would be placed within his grasp, and the peace of that country materially endangered.

There was of course little real inclination among the Scotch to adopt this personage for their sovereign. It was convenient, however, to hold him up as a bugbear to the English; and without doubt there was a large and active party, styled Jacobites, who seemed likely to acquire the ascendancy, and then bring in the Pretender.

The ruling passion of the Scots at this period was to become a commercial nation like the English. A constant intercourse with that people for a century, had shown them the advantages of trade, and introduced them to habits or necessities of expenditure, which they could not support by other means. In some measure Scotland resembled a poor family residing in the immediate neighbourhood of a wealthy one, with the constant temptation to make

an equally respectable appearance in the world. It was an absurdity to suppose that two nations could properly exist in such close contact, and yet the one be permitted to engross all the commerce of the world, without admitting the other to the least share. The Scotch, therefore, resolved, if the English would not impart some of their exclusive privileges, to let them feel the evils of a real separation of interests.

For this purpose, in the first Parliament held under Queen Anne, in 1703, they passed what they called an Act of Security, which ordained that the successor of her Majesty should not be the same person with the individual adopted by the English Parliament, unless there should be a free communication of trade between the two kingdoms, and the affairs of Scotland thoroughly secured from English influence. To provide for the means of supporting this resolution, it was ordained in a separate Act that the whole nation should be put under arms, and regularly disciplined once a month. In support of the measure, an eloquence was exerted in Parliament, such as had never been before known in that assembly, and it was finally carried by a majority of fifty-nine votes.

Though at first alarmed at the Act of Security, the English ministers eventually found it necessary to allow the Queen to ratify it. They were partly brought to this conclusion by the resolution of the Scottish estates to withhold all supplies till it should receive the royal sanction, and partly, it is supposed, by a desire to convince the English of the necessity of a communion of privileges with Scotland.

Effectually alarmed by the extraordinary position of their neighbours, the English were glad to allow measures to be taken for an incorporating union. In Scotland this was more than was contemplated; but yet, by the misconduct of the Duke of Hamilton, who was chief of the popular party, a vote was obtained, in 1705, allowing the Queen to nominate commissioners for a union.

These exalted personages, thirty on each side, met at Westminster in May, 1706, and as they were almost all obsequious to the court, no difficulty was experienced in forming the articles of the treaty. The two countries were to be indissolubly united.

under one government, but each to preserve its own laws. The crown was to be settled in the House of Hanover. Scotland was to contribute forty-five members to the House of Commons. and sixteen peers, chosen by election, to the House of Lords. The Scottish merchants were to trade as freely with England and its colonies as the English. The taxes were to be equalized. except that from land, which was arranged in such a way that when England contributed two millions. Scotland was only to raise a fortieth part of that sum, namely, forty-eight thousand pounds; and, as the English taxes were rendered burdensome by a national debt of sixteen millions. Scotland was to be compensated for its share in that burden by receiving about four hundred thousand pounds of ready money from England, which was to be applied to the renovation of the coin, the payment of the public debts, and a restitution of the monies lost in the Darien expedition.

When these articles were laid before the Scottish Parlament in October, they produced a burst of indignation over the whole country. The wish of Scotland was to enjoy a share of English trade through a federative, not an incorporating union—that is, by a mere league between the two countries. The people could not endure the idea of surrendering an independence, or, we should rather say, an individuality, which they had preserved against the English arms for so many centuries. The Jacobites, who were now a powerful party, saw in the Union a solemn acknowledgment of the rights of the House of Hanover. The Presbyterians, or at least the more earnest part of them, were afraid to place themselves under a government of an Episcopal character. Almost every class of persons had their own particular objections to it.

Yet, notwithstanding the opposition of the whole people, a majority was obtained in Parliament to carry through this important measure. Out of the four hundred thousand pounds promised to Scotland, a great part was understood to be designed for the persons who should make themselves deserving of it. By this means, a full half of the members for shires and burghs, and a majority of the nobility, were brought over to give their votes. The work, in short, was accomplished by bribery.

The Parliament sat for weeks in mock deliberation upon the different articles, and during that time the people looked on with rage and despair, like slaves about to be sold in a market, and who yet know that they can do nothing to help themselves. They assembled every day in a threatening manner round the House of Assembly; but their unruly behaviour only gave a pretext for calling in the protection of the English soldiery. A general rising was projected by the Jacobites; but the scheme was marred by the indecision of the Duke of Hamilton, who was to have been its leader.

In the articles prepared by the commissioners, no arrangement had been made respecting the established religion of Scotland. This was now provided for in a separate Act, which declared the Presbyterian mode of Church-government to be unalterable. In February, 1707, the Act of Union was fully ratified and transmitted to England, where it was passed by the two Houses of Parliament with very little opposition. In reward for his services at the head of the Scottish Parliament, the Duke of Queensbury received the English title of Duke of Dover, while many of the commissioners were also advanced to similar honours. The rewards distributed to the inferior actors were in some cases very small. Two hundred pounds was the whole sum awarded to several very eminent persons as the price of their consciences; and one nobleman, Lord Banff, received only eleven pounds two shillings, although he had been at the trouble to get himself converted from the Catholic faith in order to vote. It is curious to reflect that a measure which has tended, more perhaps than any other act of any other parliament, to the prosperity and happiness of the country, should have been effected by the foulest means; and that, if the legislature had been any thing approaching to a representation of the people, it could not have been effected.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REBELLION OF 1715.

The two countries came into conjunction with too unfriendly feelings towards each other, to admit of any advantage being derived from their union at first. Some ungenerous regulations were obtained by the English merchants, in order to exclude the Scotch from the expected share of their trade. The new system of taxation was also managed in a manner very disagreeable to the Scotch. An Act was carried in the British Parliament, against the united sense of the Scotch members, for extending the severe treason laws of England to the sister country. In short, through the influence of some unworthy party feeling, every effort seemed to be made by the English government to exasperate, rather than to conciliate that portion of the empire.

The son of James II. was now a youth of twenty years of age, and, being supported in his pretensions by the King of France, he conceived it a favourable opportunity for making a descent upon Scotland. In March, 1708, he arrived off the east coast with a considerable fleet, carrying five thousand men, and, but for some misarrangements and the accidental appearance of the British fleet under Admiral Byng, he would have landed with these troops, and been probably joined by an immense number of followers. Discouraged by these circumstances, he returned to the French coast, and resolved to wait for another opportunity.

Two years afterwards there seemed considerable likelihood of his succeeding to the throne in a peaceable manner. The Queen, who secretly could not help wishing well to her brother, displaced her Whig ministry, under which Marlborough had gained a brilliant series of victories over the French, and adopted a cabinet composed of Tories, who, it was understood, were nearly allied in sentiment to the Jacobites. These statesmen made a peace with France, and entered into a kind of conspiracy for securing the

succession of the Pretender after the death of Queen Anne. Nor was the scheme unpopular among her Majesty's subjects either in England or Scotland; for the English, it must be understood, were at this time warmly attached to their Church, which they conceived to be in less danger from a Popish sovereign than from the friends of the House of Hanover, who almost identified themselves with the Dissenters. The whole scheme, however, was deranged by the sudden death of the Queen, August 1, 1714, when her ministers were obliged, by the existing laws, to call over the Elector of Hanover, (his mother, the Princess Sophia, being just dead,) who accordingly ascended the throne under the title of George I.

One of the first acts of the new King was to put the Tories out of all their offices, and to surround himself with the Whigs, whom he knew to be his only sincere friends. The severity of this proceeding, added to the general discontent, produced an almost immediate insurrection. Two of the ex-ministers—the Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke—immediately went to France, and entered the service of the Pretender. Another, the Earl of Mar, after in vain attempting to obtain the favour of King George, repaired to his native country, and, on the 6th of September, 1715, set up the standard of rebellion in Aberdeenshire, although he is said to have had no commission to that effect from the Pretender. This nobleman, who had acted as Secretary of State under the late government, was speedily surrounded with hundreds of armed med, chiefly of the Highland clans, who were willing to be led by him to battle.

The government had at this time only a few regiments in Scotland, not exceeding in all fifteen hundred men, and these could not be concentrated in one place, without leaving the rest of the country exposed. They were, however, put under the command of the Duke of Argyle, a young soldier who had served under Marlborough, and at one time commanded the British troops in Spain. The government could not well spare more men for service in Scotland, as England, being threatened with a corresponding invasion from France, required a great quantity of the disposable troops for its own defence, and also for the purpose of preventing a rising among the native Jacobites.

An attempt was made to surprise Edinburgh Castle in behalf of the Pretender, and it would have in all likelihood succeeded, but for the folly of one or two of the conspirators. By this enterprise, if successful, the Duke of Argyle must have been disabled for keeping together his small army, and the whole of the south of Scotland would at once have fallen into the hands of the insurgent general, if he had possessed common energy to take it into his possession.

Mar entered Perth on the 28th of September, having with him about five thousand horse and foot, fully armed. Among his Highland adherents were the chieftains of Clanranald and Glengarry, the Earl of Breadalbane, and the Marquis of Tullibardine (eldest son of the Duke of Atholl), all of whom brought their clansmen into the field. Among the Lowland Jacobites who had already joined him, were the Earls of Panmure and Strathmore, with many of the younger sons of considerable families. On the 2nd of October, a party of his troops performed the dexterous exploit of surprising a government vessel on the Firth of Forth opposite to Bruntisland, and taking from it several hundred stand of arms, which it was about to carry to the north, for the purpose of arming the Whig Earl of Sutherland against his Jacobite neighbours. This gave a little eclat to the enterprise.

The government, in order to encourage loyalty at this dangerous crisis, obtained an act, adjudging the estates of the insurgents to such vassals, holding of them, as should remain at peace. The state-officers were also very active in apprehending suspected persons, especially in England. Some gentlemen in the northern counties, fearing that this would be their fate, met on the 6th of October at Rothbury, and soon increased to a considerable party. Among them were, Mr. Forster, Member of Parliament for Northumberland, and Lord Widdrington. They made an advance to Newcastle, but were deterred from attacking it. They then concentrated themselves at Hexham, and opened a communication with Lord Mar. About the same time, the Viscount Kenmure, and the Earls of Nithisdale, Wintoun, and Carnwath, appeared in arms in the south of Scotland, with a considerable band of followers, and a junction was soon after effected between the two parties.

As the Earl of Mar was loath to leave the Highlands, where immense bands were mustering to join him, he resolved to make no attempt upon the Duke of Argyle, who had now posted his small force at Stirling Bridge, which forms the only free pass between the north and south of Scotland. The Earl, however, thought it expedient to send a detachment of upwards of two thousand of his infantry across the Firth of Forth, in order to co-operate with him, when the proper time should arrive, by falling upon the Duke in flank. This party was placed under the command of Brigadier Macintosh of Borlum, an old officer, who had been regularly trained under Marlborough. By making a feint at Bruntisland, to which point they attracted the war vessels on the Firth, about sixteen hundred got safely over to East Lothian, and immediately marched upon Edinburgh, which The Provost, however, had time to call was then defenceless. the Duke of Argyle to his aid, who entered the west gate of the city with five hundred horse, at the same time that Macintosh was approaching its eastern limit. The insurgent chief turned aside to Leith, and barricaded his men in the old dismantled citadel of Cromwell. There he was called to surrender next day by the Duke, but returning only a haughty defiance, the assailing party had to retire to wait for cannon. The Brigadier took the opportunity that night to march back to East Lothian, where for a day or two he garrisoned Seton House, the princely seat of the Earl of Wintoun. The Duke of Argyle was obliged to leave him unmolested, in order to return to Stirling, upon which he learned that the Earl of Mar was marching with his whole force. The insurgent general was in reality only anxious to call him off from the party under Macintosh. The capital being now protected by volunteers, that officer, in obedience to the commands of the Earl of Mar, marched to Kelso, where he formed a junction with the English and Lowland cavaliers.

There were now two Jacobite armies in Scotland, one at Perth, and another at Kelso. It appears to have been the obvious policy of both to have attempted to break up the Duke of Argyle's encampment, which was the sole obstacle to their gaining possession of Scotland. But this the Earl of Mar either found inconvenient or imprudent, and the party at Kelso was soon diverted to

another scene of action. After a delay of some days, and much unhappy wrangling among themselves, it was determined by the leaders of this body to march into the west of England, where, as the country abounded with Jacobites, they expected to raise a large reinforcement. They therefore retired along the Border, by Jedburgh, Hawick, and Langholm, followed by a government force much inferior to themselves in numbers, under the command of General Carpenter. On the 31st of October they entered England, all except a few hundred Highlanders, who had determined to go home, and who were mostly seized by the country people upon the march.

Hitherto the insurrection had been a spontaneous movement of the friends of the Pretender, under the self-assumed direction of the Earl of Mar. It was now put into proper form by the Earl receiving a commission as generalissimo, from the royal personage in whose behalf he was acting. Henceforth the insurgent forces were supported by a regular daily pay of threepence in money, with a certain quantity of provisions, the necessary funds being raised by virtue of the Earl's commission, in the shape of a landtax, which was rendered severer to the enemies than to the friends of the cause. The army was now increased by nearly four thousand men brought by the Marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon, and as many who arrived, under the charge of the Earl of Seaforth, from the North Highlands. Early in November, there could not be fewer than sixteen thousand men in arms throughout the country for the Pretender, a force tripling that with which Prince Charles penetrated into England at a later and less auspicious period. Yet even with all, or nearly all this force at his command, the Earl of Mar permitted the Duke of Argyle to protect the Lowlands and the capital with about three thousand men.

At length, on the 10th of November, having gathered nearly all the forces he could expect, he resolved to force the pass so well guarded by his opponent. When the Duke of Argyle learned that Mar was moving from Perth, he resolved to cross the Forth and meet his enemy on as advantageous ground as possible on the other side, being afraid that the superior numbers of the insurgents might enable them to advance upon more points

of the river than he had troops to defend. He drew up his forces on the lower part of a swelling waste called the Sheriffmuir, with the village of Dumblane in his rear. His whole force amounted to three thousand three hundred men, of whom twelve hundred were cavalry. Mar, reinforced on the march by the West Highland clans, under General Gordon, advanced to battle with about nine thousand men, including some squadrons of horse, which were composed, however, of only country gentlemen and their Although the insurgents thus greatly outnumbered their opponents, the balance was in some measure restored by Mar's total ignorance of the military art, and the undisciplined character of his troops; while Argyle, on the other hand, had conducted armies under the most critical circumstances, and his men were not only perfectly trained, but possessed that superiority which consists in the mechanical regularity and firmness with which such troops must act. On the night of the 12th, the two armies lay within four miles of each other. Next morning they were arranged by their respective commanders in two lines. the extremities of which were protected by horse. However, on meeting at the top of the swelling eminence which had been interposed between them, it was found that the right wing of each greatly outflanked the left wing of the other army. The commanders, who were stationed at this part of their various armies, immediately charged, and as in neither case there was much force opposed to them, they were both to some extent successful. The Duke of Argyle beat back the left wing of the insurgents, consisting of Highland foot and Lowland cavalry, to the river Allan. The Earl of Mar, in like manner, drove the left wing of the royal army, which was commanded by General Whitham, to the Forth. Neither of these triumphant parties knew of what was done elsewhere, but both congratulated themselves upon their partial success. In the afternoon the Earl of Mar returned with the victorious part of his army to an eminence in the centre of the field, whence he was surprised, soon after, to observe the Duke of Argyle leading back the victorious part of his army by the highway to Dumblane. The total want of intelligence on each side, and the fear which ignorance always engenders, prevented these troops mutually from attacking each other. The Duke retired to the village; the Earl drew off towards Perth, whither a large part of his army had already fled in the character of defeated troops: and thus the action was altogether indecisive. Several hundreds were slain on both sides; the Earl of Strathmore and the chieftain of Clanranald fell on the side of the insurgents; the Earl of Forfar on that of the royalists. The Duke of Argyle reappeared next morning on the field, in order to renew the action; but finding that Mar was in full retreat to Perth, he was enabled to retire to Stirling with all the spoils of the field, and the credit of having frustrated the design of the insurgent general to cross the Forth. Even that part of his army which was discomfited by the Earl of Mar, had nevertheless become possessed of the principal standard of the enemy.

This day was fatal to the cause of the Pretender in another part of the kingdom. The large party of united Scots and English, under Forster, had penetrated to Lancashire, without gaining any such accessions of force as had been expected. On the 12th of November they were assailed in the town of Preston by a considerable force under General Willis, who had concentrated the troops of a large district in order to oppose their For this day they defended themselves effectually by barricading the streets; but next day the enemy was increased by a large force under General Carpenter, and the unfortunate Jacobites then found it necessary to surrender, upon the simple condition that they should not be immediately put to the sword. Forster, Kenmure, Nithsdale, Wintoun, and Macintosh, with upwards of a hundred other persons of distinction, including a brave and generous young nobleman, the Earl of Derwentwater, The common men, in number about were taken prisoners. fourteen hundred, were disposed about the country in prisons, while their superiors were conducted to London, and, after being exposed in an ignominious procession on the streets, (a mark of the low taste, as well as of the political animosity of the time.) imprisoned in Newgate, on a charge of high treason.

The affairs of the Pretender now began to decline in Scotland. The Earl of Sutherland, having established a garrison at Inverness, afforded to the Earl of Seaforth and the Marquis of Huntly an excuse for withdrawing their forces from Perth. Some of the

other clans went home to deposit their spoil, or because they could not endure to be taunted for their had behaviour at Sheriff. muir. The army being thus reduced to about four thousand men, various officers began to think of capitulating with the Duke of Argyle. To this there was one serious objection. In compliance with a pressing invitation which they had dispatched in better times, they were daily expecting the Pretender to arrive amongst them. Nevertheless, the Earl of Mar was compelled to open a negociation with the Royalist general. In answer to their message, the Duke informed them that he had no power to treat with them as a body, but would immediately send to court to ask for the required instructions. They were in this posture when the unfortunate son of James VII. landed (December 22) at Peterhead, and advanced to the camp to put himself at their The Earl of Mar and some other officers went to Fetteresso to meet him, and to apprise him of the present state of his affairs. Although greatly dejected by what he heard, and much reduced in health by a severe ague, he resolved to establish himself in royal state at Perth, in the hope of perhaps reanimating the cause. Advancing through Brechin and Dundee, he entered Perth in a ceremonious manner on the 9th of January; but he could not conceal his mortification, on finding how much his forces were reduced in number. It was nevertheless determined that he should be crowned at Scone on the 23rd. If he was disappointed with his adherents, they were no less so with him. Whether from natural softness of character, or through the influence of his late malady, or from despair of his present circumstances, he appeared exceedingly tame and inanimate: quite the reverse, in every respect, of the bold and stirring chief required for such an enterprise.

The Duke of Argyle, having now received large reinforcements from England, besides three thousand Dutch troops, sent in terms of the treaty of Utrecht, found himself as superior in numbers to the Earl of Mar, as that general had been to him in the early part of the campaign. On the 23rd of January, the day on which the Pretender was to have been crowned, the Royalist troops commenced their march upon Perth, through deep snow. To retard their progress, all the villages upon the

VOL. II.

road were burnt by the insurgents. It was now debated at Perth whether they ought to remain within the town and defend themselves against the royal forces, who, in this weather, must suffer severely in the fields, or to march northward and disperse. A great part of the clans were anxious in the highest degree for a battle with the Duke; but the safety of the Pretender's person was a consideration which precluded all desperate hazards. It was resolved to vacate Perth. Accordingly on the 30th of January, a day ominous to the House of Stuart, from its being the anniversary of the death of Charles I., the remains of the Highland army deployed across the river, then covered with thick ice, and marched to Dundee. The Duke entered the town with his vanguard, only twelve hours after the rear-guard of the insurgents had left it. But the state of the roads rendered it impossible for him, with all the appurtenances of a regular army, to overtake the light-footed mountaineers. He followed on their track towards Aberdeen, at the distance of one or two marches behind them. At Montrose, the Pretender and the Earl of Mar provided for their own safety by going on board a French vessel. The army, which had been fast declining by the way, was finally disbanded on the 7th of February at Aberdeen, after which every man shifted for himself. Thus ended the insurrection of 1715. an enterprise begun without concert or preparation, and which languished so much throughout all its parts, that it could hardly be considered in any other light than as an appearance of certain friends of the House of Stuart in arms.

The Earl of Derwentwater and the Viscount Kenmure were the only individuals of distinction who suffered death for this rebellion. They were beheaded on Tower Hill on the 24th of February. All the rest of the noblemen and gentlemen taken at Preston either made their escape from Newgate, which on this occasion manifested a peculiar irretentiveness, or were pardoned. About twenty inferior persons were executed. There were, however, at least forty families of distinction in Scotland, whose estates were forfeited. It is to be mentioned, to the honour of the Argyle family, that they counselled lenient measures, and set the example by not taking advantage of the law against such of their vassals as had forfeited their estates into their hands as

superiors. But the government was inspired with an unaccountable jealousy respecting even the Duke himself, although to his firmness and gallantry was to be attributed the suppression of the insurrection in Scotland; and, so far from listening to his humane counsels, they disgraced him, like Belisarius, almost in the hour of victory, depriving him of all his employments, and sending him into the world as a suspected Jacobite!

CHAPTER X.

THE REBELLION OF 1745.

EVEN before the Rebellion of 1715, the Union was beginning to produce its good effects on the commerce of the country, particularly at Glasgow, which, being favourably situated in respect of the American and West Indian colonies, now began to lose its character of a small Episcopal city, and to assume that which it has since borne so conspicuously, a great commercial and manufacturing capital. Accordingly, throughout nearly the whole of the Lowlands, the insane spirit of resentment which made nearly all men, in 1707, declare for a Catholic Pretender rather than submit to the indignities offered by more liberal rulers, was now on the wane.

A different result was shown in the Highlands. In that immense tract of comparatively waste country, there still lived numerous clans or tribes of uncivilized people, who acknowledged hardly any national law or regulation, but professed obedience solely to the will of their patriarchal chiefs, who were their leaders in war, and their landlords and judges in peace. The claims of hereditary royalty had made a deep impression on this rude but not ungenerous people, which was confirmed by the military glories which they had gained under Montrose and Dundee. Thus, while George I. held sway over many millions of peaceful and industrious people south of the Forth and Tay, his government was entirely disowned by many thousands of

war like people beyond that boundary, who were as unlike their countrymen in manners and ideas, as if they had lived in another quarter of the globe. Even although the whole of the civilised part of the British people had been disposed to live under the new dynasty as settled by Parliament, they were still liable to be forced from their allegiance by a small band of warlike fellow-citizens, who were totally inaccessible to all sense of a parliamentary title, and had both the power and the will to overrun the kingdom in a few days, if not effectually checked by a standing army.

The government was not nearly so much alive to this danger as it ought to have been. The ministers of George I., and, after his death in 1727, of his son, George II., were sensible of the existence of a large Jacobite party, but they rather thought of meeting its force in Parliament, where it was harmless, than of disarming this truly threatening part of it, the remoteness of which lessened its real terrors. The exiled claimant of the throne exerted himself, on the other hand, to keep alive the spirit of the clans in his favour. The chiefs were far more at the foreign courts where he lived, than at that of Great Britain; and money, promises, and flatteries, were not spared to fix their attachment.

In 1719, the Pretender married the Princess Clementina Sobeiski, grand-daughter of the heroic King of Poland; a lady possessed of a large private fortune. By her he had two sons, Charles-Edward, born in 1720, and Henry-Benedict, born in 1725. After he began to grow old himself, the hopes of his adherents were fixed upon Prince Charles, who, as he grew up, manifested a character of some energy, and manners of the most engaging kind. A close but cautious correspondence was maintained between the court of the exiled Prince, and his adherents throughout Britain; and it has been since discovered, that many persons of distinction, who seemed perfectly reconciled to the new dynasty, were secretly prepared to exert themselves, at a fitting opportunity, for the House of Stuart.

The truth is, the Jacobite cause embraced people of more diversified views than is generally supposed. Not only did it include the Highlanders, who esteemed it as resting on the

strong principle of hereditary right, besides many other persons of warm hearts and weak heads, who thought it identical with every principal of justice and generosity; but among the Jacobites were also to be found a still more respectable class of malcontents, those, to wit, who felt a dissatisfaction with the odious corruption of the government during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, and who looked to the opposing claimant. as to one who, improved by adversity, might be expected to rule upon purer principles and with a greater regard to the good of the country. It might be objected to this class of persons, that the present race of sovereigns secured the Protestant religion, and were shorn of much of the prerogative claimed by the latter Stuarts; but on the other hand, it was said that they set aside religion and the prerogative as two points on which the public attention was awake, while on many others the government was no more liberal than that which preceded the Revolution. If the Stuarts were led into arbitrary measures, it was very much in consequence of their not possessing the art so notoriously practised by their successors, of purchasing the good will of the Parliament by money, which it was itself employed nominally in raising from the people. The want of this cordiality with Parliament prevented the Stuarts from running into any debt, whereas the succeeding sovereigns had burdened the nation with a hopelessly large sum, which had partly been employed in wars with which it had properly no concern, and partly in keeping up the present system of corruption. The Scottish Jacobites could still declaim about Glencoe, Darien, the Union, and the tyranny of the British Parliament over their country, as their own peculiar grievances.

It would have been the object of an enlightened government to inquire carefully into the condition of the Highlands, with the view of rendering the people good subjects. The efforts of the Walpole ministry were limited, however, to a disarming act, which was easily eluded, the erection of Fort Augustus, and the formation of two lines of road through the country. Hardly any attempt was made to soften the moral character of the people, or break up the system of slavery in which they lived. Thus, while the Lowlanders were prospering under the effects of

the Union, and every day becoming more and more reconciled to the external kind of government under which they were placed by that treaty, the Highlanders were as ready in 1745, as they were in 1715, to form a military expedition in behalf of the House of Stuart.

During this interval, though there was still an officer called Secretary of State for Scotland, the chief affairs of the country was directed and its patronage dispensed, by the Earl of Ilav. brother to the Duke of Argyle, and who himself acceded to that title 1743. This nobleman acquired his influence chiefly through the friendship of Sir Robert Walpole, and it was of so powerful a kind that he was generally called the King of Scotland. Whenever he returned from London, where he chiefly resided, he was received at Holyrood-house by the judges and magistrates in their robes; and during the whole period of his residence there, his apartments were resorted to, like a royal court, by all who had anything to expect from the government. Even in his absence, his deputy, Lord Justice Clerk Milton, was courted as a personage little less than royal. Nor was his influence limited to the mere patronage of the state; all inferior patrons whatever were glad to yield up their powers to Lord Ilay, in the hope of obtaining larger favours from himself at another time. All this shows how indifferent the English ministry was, for a long time, to the interests of Scotland. Looking upon it as a country which could produce nothing for the general exchequer, they did not consider it worthy of the least attention, beyond what was necessary to prevent it from annoying England. By placing it entirely under the control of one statesman, they certainly acted against all the principles of free government; the personal friends and local dependents of the Earl of Ilay were alone conciliated, while all who would not condescend to court that nobleman, or who were beyond the sphere of his sympathies, were placed in hopeless and discontented opposition to the state, where they became liable to the temptations of the exiled dynasty. It is also certain that, under the management of Lord Ilay, the law officers and formed a kind of junto, responsible only to him, and, in theracter, exercised an authority of the most unconstitutional

The great support of the government at this period was in the established religion. Gratified at last in possessing a mode of Church-government, for which it had long contended, Scotland was disposed to submit to every evil which accompanied that blessing. No government ever purchased the obedience of a nation more cheaply. The Church, however, was unfortunately rent at this period by a few clergymen who refused to submit to certain of its rules. These dissenters were expelled in 1733, and became the founders of a large and respectable sect, now denominated the United Presbyterian Church.

The celebrated Porteous mob occurred in 1736, and forms a curious illustration of the national feeling. Two smugglers being convicted of robbing an excise officer of a sum in which he had amerced them, were condemned to suffer death. The sympathy with which the people beheld a breach of the excise laws, was increased before the day of execution by the gallantry of the principal culprit, who contrived, while seated in church, to hold the guard till his companion escaped. It was expected that the populace would attempt to rescue this man at the gallows, and accordingly the magistrates took into consideration the propriety of strengthening their small military police or townguard, by a detachment of regular troops. The civic corps, including their commander Captain Porteous, took it ill that they were supposed to be unable to guard the execution; and ultimately no regular force was called in. The execution passed off without disturbance till the close, when the executioner, in cutting down the culprit, was pelted with stones. The townguard hereupon fired at the crowd, and killed several persons; after which Captain Porteous led off his men, followed by the execrations of the multitude. This officer himself was accused of not only having given the command to fire, but of having fired himself; and under the influence of very excited feelings, a jury found him guilty of murder, although he proved that his piece remained undischarged after the riot, while his pouch contained the whole amount of ammunition which had been served out. In the opinion of reflecting persons, this was severe treatment to a public servant, who had been entrusted with arms for the protection of the peace, and who, at the very worst, did not use these arms till provoked to do so by an unruly multitude. The blame rather lay with the magistracy, who had committed arms to an irregular species of soldiery,* for such a purpose. The government, taking this view of the matter, reprieved Captain Porteous for six weeks. But the populace were determined that he should not escape what they were pleased to call justice; and accordingly a conspiracy was laid for putting the sentence into execution. On the evening of the 8th of September, the day before that on which Porteous was to have suffered, a multitude was collected in the streets by beat of drum. The conspirators then put guards upon the city gates, to prevent the intrusion of the regular soldiery, after which they disarmed the city guard, and, proceeding to the prison, forced an entrance by burning the outer gate, and seized Porteous in his Having borne him along the streets to the usual place of execution, they hanged him over a dver's pole which happened to stand near the spot, and when life was extinct, they peaceably dispersed. The magistrates were so completely paralysed by the boldness of the mob, that they did not cut down the victim till seven o'clock next morning. Every effort was made to discover the ringleaders, but without success. It was a general impression that they were men of some importance in society. The government was in the highest degree indignant at the contempt which had been shown for its authority, and a bill was introduced into the House of Lords for disfranchising the Corporation of Edinburgh, and otherwise degrading the city. Ultimately, however, the magistrates were only obliged to give the sum of two thousand pounds to the widow of Captain Porteous.

In 1744, Great Britain was engaged in a war which involved most of the great powers of Europe. Among its opponents, France, then under the government of Louis XV., took a leading part. The French minister, Cardinal de Tencin, conceived that an invasion of England on behalf of the House of Stuart would be an excellent diversion in favour of the arms of his country.

^{*} The Town-Guard consisted of ninety men, clothed in a deep scarlet uniform, and armed with muskets and other weapons. It had been instituted in the reign of James VI. and was not changed for an ordinary police till the year 1817.

Accordingly, in the year mentioned, Prince Charles was entertained at the court of Versailles, and an expedition of twelve thousand men was actually fitted out at the port of Gravelines. with the celebrated Marshal Saxe for its commander. The fleet which carried this large force had no sooner left the shores of France than it was opposed by a larger English armament, which must have seriously damaged it, if both had not been dispersed by a storm. The expedition was then given up. Some years before this time, seven Scottish Jacobites of distinction had entered into a bond, engaging to raise their men in favour of the Pretender, whenever six thousand French troops could be landed In 1744, Prince Charles received another commuin Scotland. nication to the same effect, by the hands of Mr. Murray of Broughton, a young Lowland gentleman of considerable accomplishments. This agent, however, was commissioned to inform him at the same time that, without a French force to the amount stated, they could not hazard themselves in an insurrection.

Charles, with the ardour of youth, was disposed to overlook the latter part of the communication. He was impressed with a belief that, if he could only get to Scotland by himself, he would be able to raise an immense army among his adherents, even without the aid of a foreign force. He therefore determined to wait no longer upon the pleasure of the French court, but to sail for Scotland with such arms and furnishings as his private fortune could supply. On the 20th of June 1745, he embarked on board the Doutelle, a frigate of sixteen guns, and was soon after joined by the Elizabeth, containing two thousand muskets and six hundred broadswords: his treasury containing a sum under four thousand pounds. His mind, he said, was made up, to gain a crown or a coffin. On the voyage, he lost the Elizabeth, which was disabled by an encounter with a British vessel. On reaching the Hebrides, or Western Islands, he came in contact with Macdonald of Boisdale, brother of Clanranald, who was a very powerful chief. All his entreaties, however, were unable to prevail upon this gentleman to join his cause. The few gentlemen who were with him, all except his tutor Sir

Thomas Sheridan, were so much depressed by this incident, that they advised him to give up the enterprise. He nevertheless persisted, and on the 19th of July cast anchor in Lochnanuagh, one of the many arms of the sea which penetrate the western coast of Inverness-shire. Here he soon obtained an interview with the young chief of Clanranald, who, like his uncle Boisdale, professed a great reluctance to raise his forces without some assistance from France. Charles was dejected, but could not be dissuaded from his enterprise. Observing a vouth in Clanranald's train to be much affected by the coldness of his chief, he appealed to him, if he would not draw his sword for the cause of legitimate royalty. "Aye," said the young Highlander, "though not another man in Scotland should befriend vou." This enthusiasm extended to Clanranald, who immediately pledged himself to the Prince's service, and invited him to come on shore. Charles landed on the 25th with \$ retinue of seven persons, and for a few days lived privately in the farm-house of Borrodale, where he was most kindly entertained. Cameron, the young chief of Lochiel, was soon apprised of his arrival, and hastened to give him welcome, but at the same time to advise him to go back to France, as there was no chance of success without a large foreign armament. But Charles, by working upon the feelings of this generous person, easily gained him over to his purpose. Without Lochiel, it was understood, hardly any of the other clans would have moved; but when they knew that he was to rise, they no longer hesitated. It was resolved to erect the Prince's standard at Glenfinnin on the 19th of August, and in the meantime to apprise as many of the friends of the cause as were likely to join it before that day.

George II. was at this time absent on a visit to his native dominions in Germany, and the affairs of the kingdom were managed by lords justices. Scotland was, as already mentioned, chiefly under the domination of the Duke of Argyle, with Lord Justice Clerk Milton for his deputy. General John Cope was Commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, which consisted, however, of only two regiments of newly raised dragoons, three regiments and fourteen odd companies of infantry, and the

invalid garrisons of the four forts appointed to be kept by the Act of Union.* The state-officers at Edinburgh were not apprised of Charles's landing till the 9th of August: the intelligence was immediately communicated to the Lords Justices, who had already, on the strength of a report that he had sailed from France, proclaimed a reward of thirty thousand pounds for his head. Cope was ordered to collect the troops under his command, and marched immediately into the Highlands, in order to seek out the young Pretender, wherever he might be. This order was in accordance with the recommendation of Lord President Forbes, who humanely wished that the insurrection should be suppressed as early as possible, so that the fewer individuals might be involved in its fatal consequences. Cope. on the 30th of August, marched from Stirling with the whole of his infantry, amounting to fourteen hundred men: but he thought it best to leave the two regiments of dragoons, as they could not be expected to fight advantageously in the Highlands. In the expectation of being joined by some of the loval clans, he carried with him a thousand stand of spare arms. He had also provision for three weeks. Advancing by the most direct road, he reached Dalnacardoch on the 25th; but, though he was then in the centre of the Highlands, not a single man had yet joined him, while many of his regular soldiers had deserted.

True to his appointment, Prince Charles had appeared at Glenfinnin on the 19th, and being joined by the Clan Cameron, seven hundred strong, and by about as many more of different families, his standard was erected by the Marquis of Tullibardine, the man of highest rank present. The sight of his banner excited feelings of the highest enthusiasm in the Highlanders, who were further animated by a small success they had obtained over a party of regular soldiers between Fort Augustus and Fort William. The Marquis, after rearing the standard, read a manifesto in the name of Prince Charles's father, and also a commission of regency from that person in favour of his son. By virtue of the latter document, Charles assumed, throughout all his subsequent transactions, the title of Prince Regent. In

^{*} Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbarton, and Blackness.

this character, he issued a proclamation parodying that which had just been issued by the Lords Justices, and offering a like sum for the head of the Elector of Hanover—for so he denominated the reigning Sovereign. This was looked upon as a very spirited act; but the wit would have perhaps been greater still, if he had adhered to his original idea of offering only thirty pounds, instead of thirty thousand.

In the course of a few days Charles had advanced into the country so far as Lochgarry, where he first heard of the march of General Cope. He had been making the greatest efforts to raise some of the clans, especially the Macleods and the Macdonalds of the Isle of Skye, and the Frasers of Lovat; but the chiefs of these numerous tribes could not be prevailed upon to stir without a large foreign army. The whole policy of the Prince was of a bold and adventurous character: he had resolved that the enterprise should not be defeated, like that of 1715, for want of rapid and decisive movements. He was delighted to hear of the advance of the Royal forces, as he anticipated that a victory gained over them in the Highlands would at once decide all the wavering clans in his favour. When he learned that Cope was at Dalnacardoch, he led forward his men to Abertarf, near Fort Augustus, and sent a party to take possession of Corryarrack, a high hill interposed between him and the enemy. He had now assumed the Highland dress, for the purpose of ingratiating himself with the clans; and it is said that when he tied his brogues that morning he vowed not to take them off till he had fought the enemy. The Highlanders, who were delighted with his frank and fearless bearing, also expressed the greatest satisfaction in the approaching conflict.

But General Cope had now seen fit to make a material change in his design. On reaching Dalwhinnie, he began to feel that he was in an enemy's country, with an important force exposed to very peculiar hazards. The mountain of Corryarrack was before him, over which he must needs pass in order to reach the Highland army. Its defiles were, as he learned, full of ambuscades, which must expose his army to the greatest danger. While it was thus impossible to march forward, a retreat to the Lowlands was likely to give encouragement to the insurgents. He therefore

determined, in a council of his officers, to turn aside to Inverness, where he expected to be joined by some of the loyal clans. By this movement he knew that the way to the Low countries was left open to the enemy; but he calculated that the Highlanders would not dare to leave their country exposed to his vengeance.

. Prince Charles, thus disappointed of a victory, resolved to descend upon the Lowlands, with such eclat as he might derive from the indecision of his opponent. He speedily crossed the mountain which had given such alarm to General Cope, and traversing Badenoch and Athole, was joined by numerous detachments of the inhabitants of those districts. At Blair, the Marquis of Tullibardine took possession of the castle as his own property, being in reality the eldest son of the late Duke of Athole, although his attainder for treason in 1715 had left the title and estates open to his younger brother. The retainers of the family were in general favourable to the House of Stuart, and many of them joined the Prince at Blair, while others proposed to follow him as soon as possible. On the 3rd of September he made a triumphal entry into Perth, the city which his father had quitted under such inauspicious circumstances thirty years before.

At Perth he remained for a week, disciplining the forces he had already acquired, and receiving daily new accessions. The Athole men now joined him in great numbers; likewise the Jacobites of lower Perthshire; and, among the persons of distinction who flocked to his standard were the Duke of Perth, Lord Nairn, Oliphant of Gask, and Lord George Murray. The last person was a younger brother of the Marquis of Tullibardine; having, since the insurrection of 1715, in which he bore arms, acquired some military experience under the reigning family, he was nominated by Prince Charles to be generalissimo of the forces. On arriving at Perth, Charles had only one guinea in his pocket; but he soon raised subsidies in that town and at Dundee, and it is said that considerable sums were now transmitted to him by well affected persons residing in Edinburgh.

The utmost alarm now prevailed in the capital. The march of

Cope to Inverness had left it completely exposed to the attack of the Highlanders, unless, indeed, there might still be some virtue in its ancient wall, or in the two regiments of dragoons, aided by such infantry as the citizens themselves could raise. An effort was made, with the sanction of government, to raise a regiment of a thousand men; but, although large bounties were offered, no more than two hundred were enrolled, and these were in general very worthless persons. About four hundred of the citizens associated themselves in the character of a volunteer corps: the fortifications of the city were also improved as well as the time would admit; and the regular military police of the city was increased from ninety-six to a hundred and twenty-six men. Still, unless Cope should return in time from the north. these defences seemed quite inadequate to the purpose. doughty general was now fully sensible of his imprudence, and had sent to Leith for vessels to carry his troops back to the Lowlands. The citizens, therefore, looked upon it as a matter of mere chance whether they should fall under the power of the Pretender or that of King George.

Charles left Perth on the 11th of September, and, directing his march to the fords of Frew, a few miles above Stirling, crossed the Forth at that point with the greatest ease, Gardiner's dragoons retreating before him to the capital. He here dispatched a party to lay Glasgow under a contribution, and making a sweep to avoid the guns of Stirling Castle, arrived at Falkirk on the 15th. Next day, he advanced without impediment to Linlithgow, where he was entertained in the palace. Another day's march brought him and his troops to Corstorphine, which is only two miles from the capital.

Brigadier-general Fowkes, who had been sent down from London on purpose, was now posted at Colt Bridge, near Corstorphine, with the two regiments of dragoons, one of which was commanded by Colonel Gardiner, an officer of distinguished bravery and good conduct. Fowkes desired the magistrates to aid him with the civic corps raised for the defence of the city; but it was found, at the last moment, that none of the volunteers had the courage to face the Highlandmen, and even of the townguard and Edinburgh regiment only a hundred and eighty men

could be sent to Colt Bridge. The dragoons were accordingly so much dispirited, that, on the approach of a single Highlander to reconnoitre their post, they turned and fled, galloping past the city in sight of the inhabitants; nor did they stop till they had put thirty miles between them and the enemy.

Charles encamped for the night at Slateford, where he opened a communication with the magistrates, calling upon them to admit his troops into the city, on assurance that he would faithfully respect private property, and the immunities of the corporation. They were exceedingly anxious to gain time, as they hourly expected to hear of the arrival of General Cope on the east coast. But Charles was fully aware of their object, and resolved to act with decision. Accordingly, on the morning of the 17th, he dispatched a party of the Camerons, with instructions to attempt the city on any weak point where they thought it might be most assailable. Before dawn, they had stealthily approached the gate of the city most remote from the camp. where one of the party, disguised in a riding-dress, attempted to gain admittance on the pretence of carrying a message from the dragoons. He was refused entrance, and the guard even threatened to fire upon him unless he went away. At this juncture, the coachman who had conveyed the last civic deputation to and from the Prince's quarters, brought up his vehicle to the gate on the inside, in order to proceed to his quarters in the suburbs. The gate being opened to allow him to pass, the Camerons rushed in, and took possession of the city without the least difficulty. When the citizens awoke, they found themselves under the government of a new, or rather a restored dynasty.

The Prince conducted his army that forenoon to the King's Park, and, with his principal officers, made a triumphal entry into Holyrood Palace. As the whole affair was conducted without violence, the populace flocked in great numbers to see him; and, being much struck by his elegant personal appearance, which was the more agreeable on account of his Scottish costume, they hailed him with loud acclamations. Many of his more particular friends now pressed around him, to kiss his hand, and offer him their congratulations. As he entered the Palace square, one of those individuals who professed Jacobitism solely on patriotic

principles, presented his sword, and then marshalled the way before him into his apartments. This was Mr. Hepburn of Keith, a man considerably advanced in life, and much respected by both Whigs and Tories for his good sense and good feeling, but who, in this case, sacrificed every interest to a visionary idea of the independence of his country.

At noon the Pretender was proclaimed from the cross, under the title of James the Eighth of Scotland and Third of England. Almost at the same hour, General Cope was landing his troops at Dunbar, having arrived exactly out of time to save the city. Next day Prince Charles was joined by a thousand Highlanders, who had followed close upon his march. He failed, however, to raise any considerable number of recruits among the inhabitants of Edinburgh, the expectation of a battle with General Cope being rather unfavourable to his cause. With such troops as he had, he determined to meet the English General, who, he learned, was advancing towards Edinburgh. On the morning of the 20th, having put himself at the head of his men, he drew his sword, and crying aloud that he had "flung away the scabbard," he commenced his march towards Musselburgh, in the expectation of meeting Cope in that neighbourhood.

The small regular army having been joined by the dragoons, now amounted to about two thousand men, with six pieces of light artillery. Against this force Charles had fully two thousand four hundred men; but to counterbalance the superiority of numbers, many of them were exceedingly ill armed, while none could pretend to any discipline except the mere instinct of springing upon their enemies, and endeavouring to cut down as many as possible. Cope had marched that morning from Haddington, and was advancing by a road near the shore of the Firth of Forth. Charles, on arriving at Musselburgh, and learning that Cope was not yet at hand, conducted his men towards the high grounds above Fawside, in order that the Highlanders might have their favourite advantage of charging down hill. Here, learning that the enemy was drawing near to Seton House, he marched forward to Tranent, where he saw General Cope drawing up his army on the plain below.

Charles would have at once attacked the enemy, if it had not

been for a morass which interposed. His men, who shouted at sight of the regulars, were also very keen for the onset. But the evening being spent in manœuvres, it was finally determined to wait till next morning. Long before dawn, the Highlanders were led by a country gentleman of the neighbourhood to the clear ground east of General Cope's bivouac, where they were drawn up in battle array without alarming a single outpost. The army was in two lines, the first comprising the Mac Donalds, Mac Gregors, and Camerons, who were deemed the best men. The second consisted of the worse armed, and was led by the Prince in per-Just as day was beginning to break, the whole moved quickly but silently forward, along the level stubble fields, only about a mile interposing between them and the enemy. Cope was apprised of their motions in time to rouse his troops, and wheel them to the east. But he could not inspire courage into men who had already been practically acknowledged by their commanders as unfit to meet their opponents. On coming near enough, the clans gave and received fire. Then, after their usual custom, they flung away their muskets and upper garments, and rushed half naked and sword in hand upon the enemy. The artillery was seized by the Camerons, after only one discharge. The dragoons, who flanked the infantry, did not stay for the onset, but fled amain. Cope himself, in attempting to stop them, was hurried off the field. Colonel Gardiner then endeavoured to put himself at the head of the infantry; but they only stayed a minute or two after the dragoons, and then became an easy prey to the Highlanders, who cut down a great number, and took no fewer than seven hundred prisoners. Among the officers slain was Colonel Gardiner, one of the best soldiers in the British army, and distinguished, amidst his dissolute fellows, for an extraordinary degree of piety and worth.

So easily was this victory gained, that, although the second line of the Highland army was only fifty yards behind the first, and ran as fast as possible, they did not find a single regular soldier on the field. Nevertheless, about thirty of the Highlanders were killed by the musketry and artillery, and a few wounded.

The Prince, and indeed the whole of his troops, used their vol. II.

advantage discreetly. The wounded were as carefully attended to as circumstances would admit of. Charles is said to have expressed much grief at seeing the havoc occasioned by the obstinacy, as he termed it, of his father's subjects; and, in the same good spirit, he forbade all rejoicings for a victory gained at their expense. On the ensuing day, he returned in triumph to Edinburgh, boasting truly that, except in the forts, he had not now an armed enemy in Scotland.

CHAPTER XI.

REBELLION OF 1745 CONTINUED.

The battle of Prestonpans, as it was called, gave so much lustre to the Prince's arms, that several persons of distinction, who had formerly hesitated, now joined his standard. Among these were the Earls of Kelly and Kilmarnock, and Lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvie, and Pitsligo. The person last mentioned was an aged nobleman, venerated alike for his wisdom and worth. His example was of such force, that almost all the country gentlemen of Aberdeenshire followed him to the field. These accessions were of a nature to allow the formation of three different bodies of cavalry. The Prince also received some further accessions from the Highlands.

George II., who had now returned from Hanover, found it necessary to order home a few regiments from Flanders, even at some hazard to his arms in that quarter. So rightly, however, had Charles calculated upon the defenceless condition of England at this juncture, that, if he could have entered it immediately after the battle, with four or five thousand men, he could not have been prevented from reaching the metropolis. Unfortunately for him, the Highlanders went home in such numbers to deposit their spoil, that his army was now rather less than before the battle, so that an immediate irruption into England was out of the question. He did what he could to increase his

force, by sending messengers to all the clans that were still at home, and by dispatching a formal envoy to France, with a request for supplies of men and money. To his great mortification, the people of the Isle of Skye were still withheld by their chiefs, nor could any representation decide the caution of Lord Lovat. He was gratified, however, by soon after receiving about £5000 from France, along with two thousand five hundred stand of arms. These arrived in a vessel at Montrose, and were soon after followed by further contributions of arms to a large amount. He was also given to understand that a French force would immediately be landed in South Britain, under the command of his younger brother.

Although Edinburgh was completely at his command, the castle was held out under General Preston; and, in consequence of some attempts of the Highlanders to stop supplies of provisions, a cannonade was opened by that fortress against various parts of the city. The inhabitants, being subjected by this to great inconvenience, entreated the Prince to remove the causes of jealousy, with which, after some reluctance, he complied.

Towards the end of October, the utmost force that he could collect was found not to exceed five thousand. With these, notwithstanding that a small army was now drawn together at Newcastle, he resolved to enter England. The Highlanders had, from association, a great reluctance to this step. They recollected, how, both at Worcester and at Preston, a Scottish army had been surrounded and overpowered by the English. The proposal met with no encouragement in the Prince's council, except from a small knot of his personal friends, who devoutly believed that he could neither act nor think amiss. It was particularly opposed by Lord George Murray, who was one of the most independent of all his adherents. The Prince was at length induced to moderate his demands to a march to the Borders, by keeping his men in exercise.

The army left the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, on the 31st of October, marching in two divisions. One was conducted by the Duke of Perth towards the western frontier. Another was led by Prince Charles to Kelso. To encourage the men, he walked at their head in Highland dress, carrying his target over

his shoulder. In order to keep General Wade at Newcastle, a party was despatched to order quarters at Berwick. From Kelso also he made a demonstration towards the east. as if he were inclined to march against the English General by Wooler and Morpeth. Here, however, he suddenly turned to the west, exactly imitating the ominous march of Brigadier Macintosh in 1715. On the 8th of November he entered England, and quartered for the night at Reddings, where he was joined next day by the western division. The city of Carlisle had made some preparations for defence, and Prince Charles was determined to take it before going further. Every preparation having been made, the Duke of Perth opened a small battery against it, composed of cannon which had arrived from France. After a siege of twenty-four hours, the citizens capitulated, and the Highland army obtained possession. A new debate here arose between the Prince and his officers. The former, with his usual ardour, was for pressing forward through the western counties of England, in the hope of raising the Jacobites of that district. The chiefs of the army were generally opposed to this step, representing that not only would they leave Wade's army to fall in behind them, but they would have to face another regular army of ten thousand men, whom they understood to be rendezvoused in Staffordshire. Nevertheless, as the experiment could not be very hazardous for a few stages, they at last consented to advance. Here considerable offence was expressed by the chiefs at the extent to which the Duke of Perth had been trusted, that nobleman being obnoxious as a Catholic, and, in the general opinion, not nearly as well qualified for command as Lord George Murray. Both of these officers resigned their commissions, and the Prince composed the disturbance by returning that of Lord George alone.

On the 20th of November, the army advanced from Carlisle to Penrith, and thence to Kendal. Charles, as formerly, walked at the head of his men; and it is said that, on first coming within sight of the beautiful scenery in the south of Cumberland, he stood for a while enraptured, as if congratulating himself on the prospect of winning such a kingdom. His troops had been diminished a thousand upon the march, and three hundred

were left to garrison Carlisle. To his inexpressible mortification, he received no accessions to make up for this immense loss. At Preston, which was full of Catholics, professedly his friends, he raised only a very few recruits. At Manchester, which he entered on the 29th, he was joined by two hundred of the merest populace, besides a few Catholic gentlemen. This reluctance to rise must not be attributed to the indifference of the people, for nothing can be more certain than that he had a vast number of friends in the west of England. It arose solely from the fear of his being unsuccessful, and thereby exposing them to the vengeance of the existing government. To have ensured their taking arms, he would have required to appear with a force almost sufficient to render their assistance needless.

From Manchester, the Highland army advanced in two columns to Stockport and Knottesford, and at the former place Charles himself crossed the Mersey, with the water up to his middle. On the 1st of December the two bodies joined at Macclesfield. whence they again diverged to Congleton and Gawsworth. this deceptive movement, they caused the large army in front to suppose that they were about to give battle, in which belief that force was kept stationary till the invaders had reached Derby, a full day's march nearer London than the position of the army. There was nothing now to prevent Charles from going on to the capital, if he could have been assured that his little army would be able to take possession of that large city, or if he could have been sure to retain the possession against two armies in the provinces, besides the troops in Flanders. For his own part, he wished most anxiously to advance, representing to his council that the King could never defend himself or the city without regular troops. But the chiefs of the enterprise were alarmed at the risk of being surrounded and cut off; and, much against his will, it was resolved to return to Scotland. They accordingly commenced their retrograde march on the 6th, pursued at the distance of two days' march by the English army. This force had for some time been under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, the second son of the King, and who, though very young, had already served abroad.

The inhabitants of London and the people of England in

general were struck with great alarm at this strange invasion. When it was known at the capital that the Highlanders had eluded the regular troops, and were within a hundred and thirty miles of the city, a complete panic seized the mercantile classes. There was a considerable run upon the Bank of England, and it is said that the King had prepared the means of quitting the country. In truth, it was rather the boldness of the attack than the strength of the invaders that communicated alarm: it was a general impression that an army of a few thousand men could never have ventured so far into the country, unless they had reason to expect a general rising in their favour. The retreat put an end to all these surmises, and restored general confidence, being a confession on the part of Prince Charles that he had no strength except what was already in the field.

The Duke of Cumberland set a large body of cavalry in motion, to hang upon the rear of the Highland army. These horsemen, however, never overtook the retiring host till the 18th. when they had nearly reached Penrith. Charles was at that town with the main body of the troops, while Lord George Murray was advancing with the rear-guard from Shap. latter body, consisting of only a few hundred men, was overtaken near Clifton by the whole body of the dragoons, amounting to several thousands; but not till after night-fall, when the moon only gave occasional light from behind the clouds. Lord George formed his small band on the moor to the right; the Duke drew up his troops within the opposite enclosures. There was then only a road with hedge-rows between them. Having first taken some pains to animate his men, Lord George led the left wing across the road and its enclosures, and, attacking a large body of the enemy who acted as infantry, drove them back with great loss to the main body. His right wing at the same time beat back a large body of cavalry. As the enemy did not show any further desire of hostilities, he drew off towards the main body at Penrith, leaving a hundred and fifty of the dragoons dead on the field, while he himself had only lost twelve men, who pursued too far, and were taken.

The whole of the retreating army reached Carlisle next day, and, as Charles was confident of soon returning to co-operate

with the French army, which he expected to land in England, he thought it necessary to leave a garrison in Carlisle, in order to keep the way open. About three hundred men were left on this duty, being chiefly the English who had joined at Manchester. They were at first in little alarm at their situation, knowing that the Duke had no cannon to form a battery. This convenience, however, he soon obtained from Whitehaven, and the garrison were obliged to surrender on the 30th, with only the assurance of being reserved for the King's pleasure. The Duke pursued the Highlanders no further, being himself recalled to London, in order to take the command of another army. This was a force which in the meantime had been rendezvoused along the coasts of Kent and Sussex, for the purpose of protecting those shores from the expected invasion of the French.

. The Highland army quitted the English territory on the 20th of December, having made a deeper inroad into that country than any former Scottish host, except the army under Charles II., which was destroyed at Worcester. In the meantime, the government had thrown a considerable body of troops into Edinburgh, and the south of Scotland in general was just as hostile to the Jacobite cause as formerly. Even in some of the northern towns, the ascendancy of the Prince's friends was seriously disputed. At Inverness, a considerable body of loyal Highlanders had been mustered under the Earl of Loudoun, so as to overawe no small portion of the disaffected country. There were, however, about four thousand Highlanders rendezvoused at Perth. on behalf of the Prince, and Lord Lewis Gordon was making considerable exertions in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, to raise the dependants of his brother, the Duke of Gordon. A small quantity of troops had also landed at Montrose, under Lord Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth, bringing with them some artillery and other military stores.

The Prince, finding no temptation to return to Edinburgh, now directed his march by Dumfries to Glasgow, which city he entered on Christmas Day. On this march, the Highlanders burnt a considerable part of the village of Lesmahago, in revenge for the seizure of one of the Prince's aides de-camp, MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart, which had been effected by

the inhabitants under the direction of their minister. As the cause of this violence was almost the only act of positive hostility which the people of Scotland had committed against the Prince, so was the conflagration of the village happily the only outrage of any consequence which the Highlanders committed in the course of their singular expedition. It was remarkable, indeed, of this insurrection, that the Highlanders were everywhere expected to violate life and property, as a natural result of their untutored character, but that, with small and unavoidable exceptions, they conducted themselves in an inoffensive manner.

It was hardly an exception from this rule, that the chiefs of the enterprise always resented very bitterly any demonstration of the people in favour of the government. Thus, the town of Dumfries having seized part of their baggage when they were on the march to England, Charles obliged the inhabitants to purchase his mercy, on his return, at the expense of two thousand counds. The city of Glasgow was also compelled to furnish stores and money to the extent of ten thousand pounds, on account of its having sent a volunteer corps of six hundred men to join the English army at Edinburgh. Charles left Glasgow on the 3rd of January (1746), and, being joined by the troops from Perth, found himself at the head of nine thousand men. being the largest force he ever had in the field at once. With these troops he invested Stirling Castle, against which he placed the artillery just arrived from France. This fortress was maintained by General Blakeney, and the siege was conducted so unskilfully by the French gunners, as to produce hardly any impression. The attention of the insurgents was soon called in another direction by intelligence of the march of the English army from Edinburgh. This force, which consisted of about the same number of men with the Highlanders, was commanded by General Hawley, a veteran officer of reputation, who, entertaining a great contempt for the Highlanders, whom he had seen repulsed by cavalry at Sheriffmuir, made no scruple to proclaim everywhere that he was sure of victory.

The regular troops encamped on the evening of the 16th, on a field near Falkirk, and Charles next day prepared to give them battle. He first sent out a large party upon the road from

Stirling to Falkirk, in order to induce a belief that he was about to make a direct attack. While their attention was thus engrossed, he secretly led the main body of his army across the Carron at Dunipace, and made a stealthy approach to the high grounds above Falkirk, whence he might charge the English down hill and in flank. Hawley, not believing that the Highlanders would dare to face so well appointed an army, had gone this morning to Callender, to breakfast with the Countess of Kilmarnock, whose husband was in the Prince's army. He was entertained so agreeably by this lady, that though repeated messages were sent to him, intimating the near approach of the insurgent troops, he did not come to the camp till past one o'clock. The inferior officers had by this time marshalled the army, but the late arrival of the general prevented him from taking further measures with the proper deliberation. Learning that the Highlanders were marching towards the hills, he gave hasty orders for the troops to march thither also, in order to pre-occupy the ground; a movement which produced disorder into his battalions, and was the cause of the subsequent defeat.

As might have been expected in a march up hill, the Highlanders came much more promptly to their ground than the English. The two parallel columns in which they moved, having come to the right place, were simply made to face towards the left, and then became a double line. Hawley, who had been obliged to leave his cannon behind, brought his men to face the Highlanders on the side of the hill, but rather further down. His cavalry, from having marched fastest, were at the upper part of his lines; and the Glasgow regiment of volunteers formed a reserve in the rear. When the action was about to commence, a severe storm of rain and snow began to beat in the faces of his men, which rendered many of their firelocks useless. The dragoons, who were chiefly the same men that behaved so ill at Colt Bridge and Preston, being ordered to attack the enemy, advanced with some hesitation, and were received by the Highlanders, when at ten yards distance, with so severe a fire, that they instantly turned and gallopped through their own infantry. Only a few persisted in dashing into the Highland ranks, where they were almost all cut to pieces. Lord George Murray, who commanded at the corresponding part of the insurgent army, now ordered his men to remain firm on their ground; but it appears not to have been in the nature of the Highlanders to see an enemy flying before them without following. They immediately rushed forward, sword in hand, and soon swept the whole of Hawley's army down hill, except three regiments at the right wing, which happened to be out of the scope of their attack. The left wing of the insurgents went forward against this body, but were received with much firmness, and ultimately General Huske, who was second in command under Hawley, was able to lead off this part of the army uninjured. The general issue, however, was a disgraceful flight to Edinburgh, with the loss of the camp, artillery, and baggage.

The Highland army were not at first aware of the extent of their victory, and therefore lost the opportunity of harrassing General Hawley in his retreat. In reality, their success was a misfortune to the Prince, for the clansmen retired in such numbers to deposit their spoil, that his army was reduced in a few days to about five thousand men. Finding it impossible with this force to follow up his victory by a new attack upon General Hawley. he resumed the siege of Stirling Castle, which proved as fruitless as formerly. His chief supporters now held a council on their own authority, and determined that it was impossible to carry on the war any longer in the low country, at least for the present. They presented a paper to the Prince, in which they recommended an immediate retreat to the north, for the purpose of recruiting their strength, and recommencing hostilities with fresh vigour in spring. To this, with great reluctance, he was obliged to yield obedience; and accordingly, on the 1st of February, the army crossed the fords of Frew, blowing up their powder magazine of St. Ninian's, to prevent it falling into the hands of the enemy. It happened that two days before this event, the Duke of Cumberland arrived in Edinburgh to put himself at the head of the army, no inferior hand being now judged sufficient to contend with the insurgents. His Royal Highness lost no time in following the Highlanders; but they marched with so much more speed than the regular forces, that he soon gave up all hopes of overtaking them. On his reaching Perth, on the 6th, he found they

were three days in advance, one division marching by the Highland road, and the other by the east coast. After tarrying here a few days, he received intelligence of the arrival of five thousand Hessian troops in the Firth of Forth; a force which the King of Great Britain had engaged, in order to assist his own army in suppressing the insurrection. He returned to Edinburgh to receive these auxiliaries, who were under the command of his brother-in-law, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel.

It was now a general belief among the English officers, that the Highlanders would disperse, as they did at the close of the former insurrection, and that the war was therefore at an end, The Duke was only prevented from acting upon this supposition, by the opinion of Lord Milton, the Justice Clerk, who, as already mentioned, enjoyed a large share of power in Scotland, under the direction of the Duke of Argyle. By his advice, given at a council of war, Cumberland resolved to follow the Highlanders to the north, and not leave the country till he had disabled them for any further hostilities.

Inverness was at this time possessed by about two thousand loyal Highlanders, who had been associated into companies under the command of the Earl of Loudoun. Charles, who led the main body of the army by the Highland road, resolved to wait for the arrival of the other division before giving himself any trouble about this hostile party. He lodged in Moy Castle, near Inverness; and, not apprehending any danger, permitted his men to straggle about the country. While in this security, the Earl of Loudoun formed a design of taking him by surprise. A large party was led by night towards Mov, and, if his lordship's intentions had not been betrayed, there can be little doubt that he would have possessed himself of the Prince's person. Macintosh, who entertained Charles, learned almost at the last hour that a surprise was intended, and sent out a blacksmith. with one or two other persons, to reconnoitre. These individuals finding that the Royalists were approaching the house, arranged themselves at some little distance along the enclosures, fired their pieces, and called out such words of command as the officers of a large party would have given to their men. The approaching party immediately fled back to Inverness, as if a superior force had been at their heels, and did great injury to each other in their haste. Charles did not learn what had taken place till he awoke next morning. He immediately led forward a strong party to Inverness, and caused Lord Loudoun to take refuge with his defeated militia on the other side of the Bewly Firth. Ultimately, this band of loyalists dispersed without doing any good to the government, except in capturing some treasure sent by the King of France to Prince Charles, which happened to be driven ashore in Tongue Bay.

The two columns of the insurgent army were now joined at Inverness, which they proposed to make their head-quarters for some time. On the other hand, the Duke of Cumberland left the Hessians at Perth, to guard the passes into the low country, and then established himself with the English troops at Aberdeca, in order to take the first opportunity afforded by the weather of advancing to fight Prince Charles. During the months of February and March, the Highlanders employed themselves in besieging the government forts, of which, however, they reduced only two—Fort George and Fort Augustus. Lord George Murray also performed a very remarkable exploit, in surprising one night about thirty posts of the enemy in Atholl; after which he laid siege to Blair Castle, but without success.

In the estimation of all reflecting persons, the insurrection was now hopeless. The Highlanders were at present opposed by such a body of troops as to place the chance of ultimate triumph out of the question; nor did even the Prince suppose that he could make any great way towards his object, without assistance on a large scale from France, or unless the English troops, as he fondly hoped, should refuse to fight against him.

It was, therefore, solely with these views that, when the Duke of Cumberland advanced towards Inverness, he resolved to give him battle. The English army crossed the Spey on the 12th of April, and beat back the advanced posts of the insurgents. On the 14th, they encamped at Nairn, about sixteen English miles from Inverness; and Prince Charles, on the same day, drew up his troops on Culloden Moor, for the purpose of protecting his head-quarters. Many of the Highlanders were at this time absent, or were hurrying forward to Inverness, and the re-

mainder had of late suffered considerably through scarcity of provisions. Charles therefore had only five or six thousand men. in rather poor condition, to present against nine thousand regular and well-fed troops, many of whom were veterans from Flanders. It occurred to him, in these circumstances, that a surprise ought The 15th, being the birth-day of the Duke of to be attempted. Cumberland, was spent by the English army in repose, and a certain degree of conviviality prevailed at night. The Prince advanced at midnight by secret ways, and would have accomplished his purpose, if the men could have kept together, or marched with sufficient speed. But the morning dawned when they were within two or three miles of the camp, and the enterprise was then given up. The men, of course, returned much fatigued, and they had obtained neither rest nor refreshment when the enemy approached to offer them battle.

About mid-day on the 16th, the Highlanders were drawn up in two lines on the open moor, in order to receive this much superior host, which was sufficiently numerous to be formed into three lines, with flanks composed of cavalry, and eight pieces of artillery in front. The arrangement and discipline of the royal troops were now calculated in a particular manner for sustaining the shock of the Highland onset, which, on all former occasions, had proved so fatal to the English regiments. The men were also more confident in their royal commander than they had been in either Cope or Hawley. It might have been obvious to any soldiers less enthusiastic than Prince Charles and the Highland chiefs, that they could have no chance of success in receiving such a powerful antagonist on level ground.

On arriving within the proper distance, the English artillery opened a severe fire upon the insurgents, who answered by firing their own cannon, but without any corresponding effect. At length, incapable of any longer being restrained to a position, the right wing of the Highlanders, composed of the Camerons, Stuarts, and Macleans, burst forward in their usual furious manner, and, after discharging and throwing away their pieces, attacked the left wing of the enemy sword in hand. One English regiment was broken by this charge, but the second line

received their assailants with so severe a fire as to drive them back. While this was passing, the left wing of the Highlanders, composed of the clan Macdonald, refused to go forward, on account of their having been displaced from the more dignified position to which they thought they had a right. The only other clan that attacked the enemy in a body, was the Macintoshes. who, though never before engaged, and although their chief had taken arms on behalf of the government, conducted themselves with the most devoted bravery. These partial efforts, however. made little impression upon the dense and well-supported lines of the Duke of Cumberland, who, while the insurgents were pausing in despair of all further exertion, caused the Argyle regiment of loval Highlanders to break down a park wall which protected their right, so as to admit a charge of horse in that quarter. Thus baffled in front and attacked in flank, the Highlanders began to retire in considerable parties from the field. The Macdonalds still hesitated, notwithstanding that Keppoch, one of their chieftains, rushed forward by himself, a voluntary sacrifice for their misconduct. On learning that the right wing had been repulsed, they retired upon the second line, which was endeavouring to meet the attack of the dragoons. Such of the insurgent army as had not fled, now formed a confused mass on the position of the second line, which Gordon of Avochie was endeavouring to protect on the right, while the French piquets defended it on the left. The Prince was entreated by Lord Elcho to put himself at the head of this force; but another of his officers, with more prudence, forced him away from the field. The Duke of Cumberland was now beginning to take measures for attacking the remainder of the Highland army, which he would soon have surrounded and cut in pieces, if they had not retired in time. The French auxiliaries retreated to Inverness, where they surrendered as prisoners of war. One or two bodies of Highlanders went off in comparative deliberation, with their pipes playing. Others were hotly pursued by parties of the English dragoons, who cut them down without mercy.

The Duke had thus achieved a complete victory, although

ution prevented him from taking that advantage of it which as certainly in his power. About three hundred of his men ere slain and wounded, while the loss on the other side could ot be less than three times that number, including some of the lost important men.

He afterwards signalised his victory by extraordinary cruelties. Istead of attending to the wounded, as the Highlanders had one after their victories, he caused them to be all butchered next by in cold blood. He then marched into the country occupied the hostile clans, and sent out parties in all directions to ize their persons and property. Under his immediate direction, tract of country extending about a hundred miles in every rection, was completely laid waste, the houses burnt, the men ain, and the women and children left to starve. When fully ited with vengeance, he returned to London, where he received the thanks of Parliament for suppressing the insurrection, without the least allusion to his severity.

Prince Charles, having cleared himself of all except a few ttendants, fled towards the western coast of Inverness-shire. here he embarked, on the 24th, on board a small boat, and, ter encountering a severe tempest, he landed next day in Benecula, one of the remoter Hebrides. It was his wish to proceed Stornoway, in the island of Lewis, where he hoped to fall in ith a vessel which might convey him to France. After a very angerous voyage, he reached that port, but was obliged by the ostile appearance of the people to give up his design. He then ade another long and dangerous voyage to South Uist, where e was sheltered for some weeks by the Clanranald family in a nely and miserable hut. The soldiery and militia having at ngth obtained some information about his concealment, beset ie island in great numbers, and he only escaped by the assistace of a young lady, named Flora Macdonald, who dressed him i female attire, and made him pass for her servant. He landed ith his protectress in Skye, and, then parting with her, took sfuge in the island of Rasay, which had been laid waste by the ilitary, on account of its proprietor having been in the insurgent rmy. After incredible hardships he again landed in Skye.

whence he returned to the mainland of Inverness-shire. A close line of posts was drawn across that part of the country, but he crossed it by a peculiar stratagem; and the next place where he found shelter was in the cave of a gang of robbers. These men kept him for three weeks, being too well affected to his cause to betray him, notwithstanding that the sum of thirty thousand pounds might have been thereby obtained. Finally, he was sheltered for some weeks in a curious place of concealment, called the Cage, from its being perched among lofty rocks, and thence he was at length conveyed on board a vessel, which carried him back to France. From the 16th of April, when he had parted with his vanquished army at Culloden, to the 19th of September, when he thus left the country, he had been continually wandering and hiding, his health exposed to severer hardships than what usually befall the most wretched of human beings, and his life entrusted to many successive parties of poor and even infamous men; yet he experienced no bodily illness all the time, and no individual, out of the numbers whom he trusted, seems to have ever felt the temptation of giving him up to the government. He was favourably entertained at the French court till the peace of 1748, when Louis XV, was obliged to send him out of the country, in compliance with a stipulation exacted by the British negociators.

In order to strike terror into the Jacobite party, the government deemed it necessary to put a great number of its prisoners to death as traitors. Nine individuals of the Manchester regiment were executed. The Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino were beheaded on Tower-hill. Above sixty inferior persons were put to death in London, York, and Carlisle. A gentleman named Ratcliffe, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater (who was executed in 1716), being taken on board a French vessel coming to Scotland, was beheaded on his former sentence, thirty years after committing the offence for which that sentence was passed. The whole of these unfortunate persons, excepting Lord Kilmarnock, maintained their political sentiments on the scaffold, and were evidently inspired with all the feelings of martyrs. The last victim was Lord Lovat, who, having betrayed both parties, was

pitied by neither, although, having passed the eightieth year of his age, he might have been expected to excite the greatest commiseration of all. An act was soon after passed, granting pardon to all who had interested themselves in the cause of the Stuarts, excepting about eighty individuals.

CHAPTER XII.

SEVEN YEARS' WAR-AMERICAN WAR.

To Scotland the immediate consequences of the Rebellion were a temporary oppression by the English soldiery, and the ruin of many noble and respectable families. Its remoter consequences were of an opposite character. The attention of the government was now fully roused to the condition of this part of Great Britain, if not in the hope of rendering it positively useful to the general interest, at least with the view of preventing it from doing any harm. It was seen by the English that, though the Scotch were poor and idle, yet they were able, in the hands of a pretender to the crown, to do infinite injury to the richer country which lay exposed beside them, if not to produce a complete revolution in the state. They therefore found it necessary to devise some means by which Scotland might be put in a fair way of equalizing itself in wealth and civilization with England; an object thought to have been secured by the Union, but which had hitherto been found as far from reality as ever.

The measures adopted were of a decisive, and somewhat oppressive character. A new act was passed for more effectually disarming the Highlanders, and another for abolishing their use of tartan clothes, which, it was rightly supposed, had a great effect in keeping up their warlike spirit. When deprived of his arms, and obliged to wear Lowland apparel, the mountaineer lost the means of supporting those romantic associations which were, in reality, the sources of his political prejudices. It was deemed necessary, also, to break the feudal tenures, by which tenants.

were called upon to attend their landlords in war, and also to abolish the judicial powers of those landlords. For this purpose two Acts of Parliament were passed in the year 1748. One took away the hereditary sheriffships and other jurisdictions of the nobility and gentry, so as to render the King in Scotland, as well as in England, the fountain of all law and justice. In terms of this statute, sums of money were given in compensation for these privileges, amounting in all to a hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds. The other Act abolished what was called the tenure of ward-holdings, that is, the holding of lands upon the condition of going out to war whenever the superior desired. Tenants and the common people in general were thus for the first time in Scotland rendered independent of their landlords, or of the great men on whose property they might chance to live. In fact, they now for the first time became free citizens.

The Rebellion was also very fortunate for Scotland, in as far as, by setting the claims of the Stuarts for ever at rest, it permitted the minds of the people to settle down in tranquil industry under the Brunswick sovereigns. An intelligent person writing in 1752,* says: "Since the year 1746, a most surprising revolution has happened in the affairs of this country. The whole system of our trade, husbandry, and manufactures, which had hitherto proceeded by slow degrees, now began to advance with such a rapid and general progression, as almost exceeds the bounds of probability. It is no longer the detached efforts of Aberdeen, of Glasgow, of Dumfries, or any other single town; but is the united force of the whole nation, which seems at length to be exerting itself. Husbandry, manufactures, general commerce, and the increase of useful people, are become the objects of universal attention † Various reasons have been assigned for so

^{*} Gilbert Elliot, of Minto.—Scots' Magazine, 1752.

[†] This description appears to be perfectly correct. During the interval between the two rebellions, nothing was done but by detached and ill-supported efforts. Examples of superior husbandry were set by Mr. Cockburn of Ormiston, the Earl of Stair, and one or two other persons; but it was only now that they began to be generally followed. A Board of Trustees had been instituted in 1727 by parliamentary enactment, for the purpose of encouraging native manufactures; but for a considerable time it was very

surprising a progress in the course of a few years. The money brought into this country in consequence of the Rebellion, the price paid for our jurisdictions, and some other circumstances of the same kind, have no doubt had their weight; but they are by no means causes adequate to so general and so sudden an effect. The uncommon attention which the legislature has given, for these six years past, to the improvement of this country, and the countenance and encouragement which every kind of industry has met with from our nobility and gentlemen of fortune, seem to afford us a more satisfactory solution of this question. Of the many excellent laws which have been lately made with that view, the good effects have already begun to be experienced. The great spring, however, which has set the whole in motion, is that spirit, liberality, and application, with which our nobility and landed gentlemen have of late engaged in every useful project. They are the chief adventurers in our fisheries, manufactures, and trading companies. Animated by their example, persons of every rank and profession have caught the same spirit." This is so far true, that the younger sons of many of the Scottish gentry did not scruple at this time to exhibit themselves in the character of shop-keepers and artizans.

The most odious feature of the times under notice, was the persecution to which persons of the Catholic and Episcopal per-

tardily and inefficiently acted upon, insomuch that the linen stamped within the first five ensuing years amounted only to £662,938. To show the susbequent increase, it may be mentioned, that during the five years ending in 1742, linen to the value of £949,221 was stamped in Scotland, and during the five preceding 1751, to no less than £1,607,680.

During the interval between 1746 and 1752, the following companies were established for carrying on manufactures and trade in Scotland, where formerly such associations were hardly known: the British Linen Company, a Rope and Sail-cloth Manufactory, an Iron and Carpentery Manufactory, a Whale-fishing Company, a Soap Work, a Glass Company, a Sugar Work, and a Gold-lace Manufactory. While the whiskey distilled in Edinburgh during the seven years before 1745 amounted only to 185,997 English gallons, that distilled during the ensuing seven years amounted to 723,150 gallons. The tonnage of Leith, which, in 1692, was only 1702 tons, and, in 1744, more than 2285, was, in 1752, 5703 tons. This was also the era of a trade between Leith and the West Indies.

suasions were subjected. The regular standing law against the former class of worshippers declared them incapable of succeeding to heritable property; any one who performed or heard mass could be punished with death, and not to disclaim their religion upon oath, when called upon to do so, subjected them to banish-The Episcopal clergy, who, it must be recollected, were exactly the same as the clergy of the Established Church in England, were subjected to penalties less severe in words, but far more severe in execution. If they failed to profess their allegiance to the reigning monarch, which, conscientiously, they could not do, as all of them adhered to the dynasty which had been displaced with themselves, they might be banished for life. Even so lately as 1755, one of them experienced this severe punishment for a mere offence of opinion. Nor does there seem to have been any class of the people generous enough to stand up against this monstrous persecution. We also find at this period exertions of arbitrary authority, which indicate the imperfect notions as yet prevalent respecting the liberty of the subject. For instance, in 1755, when an impressment of seamen was going on in Edinburgh, a man who had been put into the guardhouse for swearing, was sent on board the tender; nor would the judges, to whom application was made on his behalf, order him to be restored to liberty.

It was to the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke that Scotland was indebted for the enlightened acts which first placed her in a condition of nominal freedom. She was now indebted to another English statesman, the illustrious Earl of Chatham, for some advantages of almost equal value. The employment of the Highlanders in the royal army was a measure suggested some years before the Rebellion, as almost sufficient in itself to render the people good subjects. It was impossible, however, for the narrow minds then reigning, to conceive how an enemy was to be made less dangerous by being treated as a friend. Accordingly, with the exception of a police regiment which had been raised about the year 1729, and afterwards, by no fair means, taken into the line, hardly any effort was ever made to recruit the British army from that quarter of the country. Chatham, however, saw the case in its true light. On the breaking out of the wax with

France in 1756, he judged that the hardy nature of the mountaineers fitted them in a peculiar manner for carrying on the contest with the French colonies in North America. Accordingly, two new regiments. Montgomery's and Fraser's, were raised within the Highland frontier, besides seven hundred men. who were added to the regiment already existing; in all nearly three thousand soldiers, of the very first order in point of personal vigour. These men, dressed in their national garb, and retaining part of their usual weapons, cheerfully embarked for America, and, on their landing at New York, were trained to bush-fighting and sharp-shooting, for which their previous habits had peculiarly fitted them. Being associated with the Indian auxiliaries, who hailed them as brothers, they distinguished themselves greatly in the brilliant campaign of 1758. At the unfortunate attack on Ticonderoga, the old Highland regiment, or 42nd, rushed forward with desperate valour, and was the only part of the British army which gained the top of the walls. It was not till half of the men and two-thirds of the officers had fallen, that they could be prevailed upon, even by the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, to retire. The King acknowledged their gallantry on this occasion by giving them the title of the Royal Highlanders. At the same time. Fraser's regiment distinguished itself at the taking of Cape Breton and Louisburg; and Montgomery's at the arduous assault upon Fort du Quesne. In 1759, a second battalion of the 42nd was raised in the Highlands, and being sent to the West Indies, conducted itself in the most creditable manner at the attacks on Martinique and Guadaloupe. The two battalions afterwards joined in North America, and, with Fraser's Highlanders, gained immortal laurels on the Heights of Abraham (September 12, 1759), where General Wolfe, though himself mortally wounded, gained a complete victory over the French army under Montcalm, and paved the way for the reduction of the whole colony. The services of the Highlanders as sharpshooters, and in charging the enemy sword in hand, were on this occasion very conspicuous. Throughout the whole campaign they had displayed a hardy valour, which could only be traced to their national spirit. It was also remarkable that they were the soberest and the most correct in conduct of all the regiments on service. The government was so much pleased with their behaviour as to order two other regiments to be raised in 1759. These were denominated Keith's and Campbell's regiments, from the names of their chief officers. With hardly any regular discipline, they were precipitated into the war then carried on in Germany; and such was the effect of their warlike habits and ardent national spirit, that they performed several brilliant actions in a manner that commanded general admiration. Another regiment, called Johnstone's, was raised in 1760, and was also sent to Germany. In the same year one was raised among the dependents of the Gordon family, and sent to the East Indies. where it aided materially in gaining the splendid victory of Baxar. It is surprising to know that a great number of both the officers and privates of these regiments had fought against the House of Brunswick in 1745: one of the corps was raised and commanded by Simon Fraser, son of Lord Lovat, and who had led out his father's clan in favour of Prince Charles.

. The truth is, a more generous policy had reconciled the Highlanders to a dynasty which they formerly detested; and this was more particularly apparent after the year 1760, when George II. died, and was succeeded by the first Englishman of his family. George III. Sometimes there was a ludicrous contest in the minds of these mountaineers respecting allegiance. recollection devoted them to the Stuarts, but immediate gratitude bound them to the House of Brunswick. In general, the latter feeling predominated. In 1762, Montgomery's and the 42nd were sent to the West Indies, and war having been proclaimed against Spain, the British army and fleet were ordered to attack the Havannah, which formed the key of all the American possessions of that State. In the celebrated attack on the Moro, a fort protecting the city, the Highlanders distinguished themselves by their steady and determined courage, and after a siege of forty days, during which the army endured great hardships, the fort was taken (July 30, 1762), after which the Havannah fell into the hands of the British, being a prize estimated at three millions of money. The Highlanders were then remanded to North America, where, even after the conclusion of the war in 1763. they proved of immense service in checking the outrages of the Indians, who, having been entrusted with weapons, now turned them against their former friends. At the celebrated affair of Bushy Run, where a small parcel of troops with difficulty protected themselves from an immense band of these savages, the Highlanders were found particularly useful, being able to compete with the enemy in nearly their own style of warfare. At length, after a series of uncommonly severe services in an extensive and difficult country, they were embarked for Ireland. The 42nd did not return to their native country till 1775, when it had been absent no less than thirty-two years. According to their historian, General Stewart, the veterans "leapt ashore with enthusiasm, kissing the earth, and holding it up in handfuls."

The sterling worth of these Highland regiments had in the meantime made a deep impression at home. The Earl of Chatham, alluding to the subject in Parliament, found himself justified in using the following language: "I sought for merit where it was to be found; it is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and in the war before the last, had gone nigh to overturn the state. These men in the last war were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world."

The distinct peculiarity of the Highland regiments, in name, as well as in dress and manners, is apt to call attention exclusively to those corps alone, while the military exertions of other Scotsmen are overlooked. It must be mentioned, however, that the Lowlands also contributed a great number of men to the British army, and also to the navy, during this war. Previous to July, 1760, it was calculated that thirty-three thousand men had been raised in Scotland for service by sea and land, of whom a large majority must have been drawn from the southern portion of the kingdom. As these, however, were mixed indiscriminately with the English and Irish, their military services procured no particular distinction for the country.

During this war, the French navy and privateers did much

damage to the British shipping, not only on the coast of America and in the open sea, but also on our own shores. In spring 1758. the Belleisle, a privateer of 44 guns, commanded by Monsieur Thurot, haunted the east coast of Scotland, capturing all the merchant vessels that fell in her way. In May, two British war vessels of inferior strength sailed from Leith, for the purpose of seeking out the Belleisle. They encountered her off Red Head, on the coast of Forfarshire, and a severe action ensued, which ended, however, in the two British vessels being left disabled. After this, Thurot was received with great distinction by the French King, who entrusted him with a fleet of four vessels. besides the Belleisle, now raised into the character of a government ship; all of which were destined to annov the coasts of Britain. Thurot, who was in reality a brave and humane officer, sailed early in 1760 for the coast of Scotland. On the 10th of February his ships were descried off the island of Islay, in Argyleshire, and as they seemed to be in distress, and had the appearance of British vessels, two gentlemen of the country went off in a boat to render assistance. Being taken on board, they soon discovered the real character of the strange vessels, which they nevertheless were compelled to steer into the bay of Arros, in order that the ships might be refitted. The French officers in general were anxious to lay waste the country: but Thurot would not listen to such a proposal, it being contrary, he said, to the instructions which he had received from the King. While the vessels were undergoing repairs, about two hundred French soldiers were sent ashore for provisions, of which they stood in great need. From the country-people they received many articles of provision, for all of which payment was regularly made, such being the strict orders of the commander. Intelligence of this formidable descent did not reach Edinburgh for some days. In a country which has happily been so long a stranger to war, it occasioned some consternation; but troops, with artillery, were immediately despatched to the west coast, in order to meet the French. Long before these arrived, Thurot had weighed anchor, and, after sweeping through the Firth of Clyde, had stood over to Ireland, where he made a descent with about one thousand men at Carrickfergus. That town, with its castle, surrendered after a

brave resistance, the garrison being permitted to remain, in exchange for an equal number of French prisoners, who were to be sent home as soon as transports could be provided. The French kept possession of Carrickfergus from the 21st to the 24th of February; they then went back to their ships, which immediately left the bay. Commodore Elliot having now received information of the attack on Carrickfergus, sailed from Kinsale, in his own vessel, the Æolus, (32 guns), along with the Pallas and the Brilliant (of 36 guns each). On the 28th, he got sight of the enemy, and, after a smart chase, came up with him, near the Isle of Man. A fight ensued, and lasted for an hour and a half, when the three French vessels struck their colours, their brave commander being killed, along with a great number of his men. This affair was in itself of little consequence: but as an invasion of British ground was a very uncommon event, and as the concluding action took place in sight of both the Scottish and Irish shores, it made a great impression on the public mind, and was long remembered.

The commencement of the reign of George III. was the era of a great improvement in the condition of Scotland. All animosities respecting the succession were now at rest; the people were beginning to feel the good effects of trade and industry; and with wealth came refinement of manners and a more general diffusion of the comforts of life. The King, soon after his accession, placed the Earl of Bute, who had been his preceptor, at the head of his ministry. Lord Bute had communicated a favourable impression of the Scottish nation to the royal mind; and even the Jacobite families who had fought against the House of Brunswick were treated with kindness by the young monarch. Partly by this good feeling on the part of the King, and partly by the immediate influence of the Minister, the Scottish nation acquired that share of general consideration and public employment to which it was justly entitled, though at the expense of much rancorous feeling on the part of the English opposition, to whom it afforded a theme for ungenerous remarks, addressed to the prejudices of the people.

The city of Glasgow had now attained the character of an emporium for the colonial trade, and in particular had engrossed.

nearly the whole import of tobacco, not only for Britain, but for The business of banking, hitherto confined to two establishments in Edinburgh, was now beginning to be practised in all the second-rate towns in the kingdom. In almost every considerable town, new manufactories were rising and prospering. The north every year sent immense herds of cattle to the English market, no fewer than nineteen hundred being observed to pass Berwick Bridge in one day.* In Edinburgh there existed a society for encouraging the arts, sciences, agriculture, and commerce, which in one year distributed a hundred and twenty premiums. Another association, comprehending many of the distinguished men of the country, had in view the cultivation of English literature, and the introduction of an English pronunciation into Scotland. Other institutions were now founded for promoting elegant arts. An academy was set up at Glasgow by two printers, for teaching the arts of drawing, painting, and engraving. About the same time the first public school for teaching anything beyond classical literature was established at Perth; it was styled an academy, and designed to give instructions in mathematics, natural history, drawing, and other branches of knowledge. In literature, the fame of Scotland was allowed by foreigners to stand at this time higher than that of England itself. Hume, Robertson, and Blair, natives of Scotland, were the authors of various works, in which a far more classical style of language was employed, than what was generally written in England. This could only be the result of a high cultivation of the mental powers; for, as the colloquial language of these authors was not strictly English, they must have required to translate every idea into something like a foreign tongue, before committing it to paper. At the same time, the University of Edinburgh was beginning to attract great numbers of students from all parts of the world, on account of the celebrity of its medical teachers. Anatomy had long been taught with distinction by two professors named Monro; and the chair of physic was now filled by the famous Cullen. Chemistry was taught by Dr. Black, whose discoveries revolutionized the whole

^{*} September 1766.

system of that science. By the liberality of George III., Dr. Blair was endowed in a class for rhetoric and English composition; a study now attracting great attention in the country. Under the influence of increasing wealth and improving taste, a grand design was formed for embellishing the capital. It had hitherto been a confined and antique town, rather calculated for defence in a rude, than convenience in a civilized age. It now began to expand over the adjacent plains, and, as the suddenness of the increase allowed regular plans to be adopted, while the neighbouring quarries of pure sandstone suggested architectural ideas to even the homeliest minds, the new streets became in a short time remarkable for their elegance. It must also be mentioned that, while these designs were in progress, the navigation of the two sides of the island was connected by means of the Forth and Clyde Canal.

The only apparent drawback to the happiness of the country at this period was the emigration of vast numbers of the Highlanders to America. In former days, a numerous tenantry was of great importance to the proprietors in that district of the country; for the most of these gentlemen, being attached to the House of Stuart, grounded their consequence entirely on the number of men they could bring into the field for the purpose of altering the succession. But now, when the chiefs were convinced of the hopelessness of all such attempts, they became anxious to turn their estates to account in the same manner as other landlords. The rugged nature of the country unfitted it for arable purposes on a large scale, but seemed to qualify it for pastoral forms. Large tracts, therefore, which had once supported hundreds of armed retainers, were now let to sheepfarmers, chiefly from the south of Scotland, and the former tenantry were either compelled to emigrate, or to remain in a state of abject poverty. Ever since the seven years' war, which first made the Highlanders acquainted with America, emigration had been going on to a considerable extent; but it was not till the year 1770 that it became conspicuous. The people at that time were emigrating in such numbers, that they filled large districts in America, without the admixture of any other settlers. The loss of so many hardy and brave men to the country was generally regretted by persons of liberal views, more especially as it was attended with much pain to the Highlanders themselves, a class of people remarkable for attachment to their native country.

It was generally thought that the ungenerous though necessary expedient of expelling so many human beings for the purpose of substituting sheep, would deprive the landlords of much of their original influence over those who remained. It appeared, however, at the commencement of the American war in 1775, that the devotion of the people, even to those superiors who were treating them so unkindly, was not diminished. The government, in preparing for their unfortunate contest with the colonies, looked once more to the Highlands for the soldiery best suited to endure such a warfare. General Fraser, to whom his father's estates were now restored, found no difficulty in raising two thousand three hundred men, who were formed into the 71st regiment, and embarked in April, 1776, for America. In this body, no fewer than six of the officers were chiefs of clans. They were accompanied by the 42nd regiment, which had just been largely recruited in the Highlands. In August, the month after they landed, they were all on active duty, and conducted themselves with that self-possession and promptitude which is always remarked in the first movements of a Highland soldiery, being the result of their previous habits. In 1778, the 74th and 76th regiments were raised in the Highlands and Western Isles, and also transported to America. The whole of these corps, forming the most valuable part of the British army, served throughout the arduous campaign of Lord Cornwallis, till the surrender of the troops at Yorktown (October, 1781), when the war terminated with the triumph of the American arms. The Highlanders, along with their companions, were kept prisoners till the peace, after which most of them returned home, and were discharged. should not be forgotten that a regiment of two large battalions was raised among the emigrated Highlanders, and served very meritoriously in many harassing enterprises. This, however, is not the full account of the services of the Highlanders. Other five regiments were raised in the north during the time of the American war, two of which served in Ireland, while the other

three were taken to the East Indies, and opposed to the barbarian forces of Hyder Ali. The general character of these soldiers was excellent. They were steady, moral men, totally above a mean action, and rather, indeed, following war from a romantic and elevated feeling in their own minds, than from the causes which send most recruits into the army. It rarely happened that a Highland soldier was punished, and even on those rare occasions it was scarcely ever found to be for a breach of moral law, but generally for some act of insubordination arising out of their peculiar national habits. It was never considered any drawback to the excellent character of these men, that three of the regiments mutinied before leaving the country. In 1778, a regiment raised by Lord Seaforth * was lying in Edinburgh, preparing to embark for the East Indies. The men found themselves deceived in some of the engagements under which they had been enlisted. and, conceiving that they might be still further betrayed, they marched off from their quarters in a body, with bagpipes playing, and pitched themselves on the top of Arthur's Seat, a lofty hill in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Here they remained for several days and nights, supplied with provisions and covering by the humane citizens, till a number of forces were collected to overawe them. The Earl of Dunmore then entered into a negociation with them, and by solemnly engaging to satisfy all their complaints, induced them to return to obedience. No man was punished for this affair; nor was it necessary. The only individuals deserving punishment were the officers who had attempted to cheat them. Next year, the Macdonald, or 76th regiment, mutinied for similar reasons at Bruntisland, and in the same manner returned to duty, on their engagements being fulfilled. It is worthy of being recorded, that the money which they thus demanded as their right was never applied to their own use; they sent it all home to their friends in the Highlands. there can be little doubt that the poor mountaineers only acted in this firm manner through the impulse of one of the purest of human sentiments, filial piety, being anxious, in leaving the country, that those who had depended upon their industry

^{*} Now the 72nd.

should not be any worse provided for than they had calculated upon at their enlistment.

The period of the American war saw a considerable change in the political sentiments of all the British nations. So long as the throne was in danger from the Jacobites, the majority of the people had rallied round it with a feeling of undivided attachment, as their only safeguard from a more arbitrary species of government. The ministers were then in general of what is called the Whig party—men supporting the crown with a strict regard to the limits of its power, and always looking back to the Revolution of 1688 as an example never to be lost sight of. On the accession of George III., there was no longer any danger from the Pretender, and the sovereign, feeling at ease regarding his title, was less anxious than his two predecessors to rule in a manner opposite to the system of the Stuarts. To this he was the more inclined, that there now arose a popular party, who endeavoured to supply the place of the Jacobites in exciting discontent and raising tumults against the government. III., surrounded by a Tory ministry, anxious to support the dignity of the crown, and opposed by not only this party, but by many of the Whigs, who had hitherto formed the ministries of the Brunswick sovereigns, might be said in some measure to stand in the same ground as the Stuarts, though not presuming to any considerable part of their pretensions.

The questionable character and doings of Mr. Wilkes and other friends of liberty at this time, were perhaps greatly instrumental in raising the power of George III., for it caused most of the respectable people to rally round the throne, and to support it with a less regard to the revolution principles on which it was founded, than what might have been desired by moderate persons. Hence, when the government resolved to reduce the colonies by force of arms, almost all whose voice was worth listening to, both in England and Scotland, approved of the resolution. The claims of the Americans were generally condemned, as arising from a factious and rebellious spirit; although few rational people now deny that they were perfectly reasonable, and that the mother country ought to have made the required concessions.

In July, 1777, several American privateers appeared on the

west coast of Scotland, and took a few merchant vessels about the mouth of the Clyde. For the protection of trade, two small vessels were fitted out at Greenock with twelve or fourteen guns each, and sent in search of the enemy. The inhabitants of Avr also formed themselves into a militia for the defence of the coast. in case of any descent being attempted. The Greenock vessels returned some days after, without having encountered any of the American ships. Next year the celebrated Paul Jones made a descent from one of these privateers. This adventurer was a native of Scotland, but had entered the American service. He appeared on the coast of Britain with a vessel of twenty guns. and during the night of the 22nd of April made a secret approach to the harbour of Whitehaven, where he set fire to several vessels. The town and shipping would alike have been consumed but for the humane treachery of one of his men, who deserted to give warning to the inhabitants. Next forenoon, the vessel of Paul Jones appeared off Kirkcudbright, and a party, not commanded by him, went ashore, and plundered the house of the Earl of Selkirk. In August, 1779, Jones reappeared on the British coast, in a vessel of forty guns, accompanied by five vessels of inferior strength, and having on board altogether about two thousand men. His design was to destroy the shipping in the British harbours, by way of retaliating the severities exercised by the British navy upon the American shores. After insulting the Irish coast, he appeared (September 16) in the Firth of Forth, and threatened to set fire to Leith and Edinburgh. But, fortunately for these towns, he was driven back by a strong westerly On the 23rd, he encountered a British vessel, the Serapis, and, after a severe action, obliged her to strike her colours.

At the end of the year 1777, when the government was beginning to find some difficulty in carrying on the American contest, proposals were made among its friends over the whole empire to raise regiments by private subscription for service in the colonies. In Scotland, where there was less opposition to government than in England, and where the Highlanders in particular had transferred the whole of their enthusiastic loyalty to the reigning sovereign, a considerable force was raised in this

manner. In the space of three weeks, ten thousand pounds were subscribed at Glasgow, for the purpose of raising a regiment. In Edinburgh, another large sum was raised for a similar purpose, and throughout the whole country one feeling seemed to prevail.

In the year 1778, an Act of Parliament was passed, relieving the Roman Catholics in England from some of the severe laws which had been enacted against them in a former age. In point of fact, these laws had been little acted upon for many years past, being so obnoxious to humane feeling, and at the same time so little called for by the peaceful character of this class of people, that an attempt to put them into full force could not have been tolerated; but, though the most of the people had no wish to see these laws executed, they viewed the matter in a less liberal light when it was proposed to abolish them altogether. They thought it expedient that the Catholics should still see the rod of the law hanging above them, to descend if they should show the least disposition to disturb the public tranquillity. In Scotland, where the spirit of freedom had all along referred chiefly to the supremacy of the Presbyterian religion, the people were greatly alarmed at the prospect of a similar act being passed respecting the Catholics in their section of the island. In this fear, the General Assembly discussed the propriety of declaring against the scheme prospectively, but did not pass any resolution to that effect. It often happens, when the enlightened part of the community discuss political questions in a warm manner, that the mob takes up the argument in a still warmer tone, and blindly thinks to settle the matter by acts of violence. Towards the close of the year, a Catholic Relief Bill for Scotland was introduced into Parliament, and immediately the Protestants all over the country held meetings for the purpose of opposing it. Almost all the inferior Church judicatories in Scotland met and voted against the bill; and in nearly all classes of society it was the subject of abuse. On Sunday, the 13th of October, a few days after the synod of Glasgow had held an anti-Catholic meeting, a mob gathered round a humble dwelling-house in that city. where such of the inhabitants as professed the faith of Rome, held their modest and inoffensive meetings, to perform a worship as dear to them as the Presbyterian forms were to their fellow-The worshippers, seeing their danger, endeavoured to escape, but were insulted and pelted in an unmerciful manner. One gentleman was carried off in a chair, amidst the shouts and execrations of the rabble. A number of poor Highland women had their clothes torn off them; and when all had escaped, the mob went in a body through the streets, breathing vengeance against all Papists. Notwithstanding this disgrace to the whole cause, meetings continued to be held, and addresses to be voted, against the Catholics: and on the 9th of February 1779, a solemn fast was held over the country, to avert the divine vengeance, which was anticipated as a proper consequence of such an attempt on the part of the legislature. Influenced by these proceedings among their superiors, the rabble attacked a house in Edinburgh where a Catholic Bishop resided, and which they suspected to contain a popish chapel. The magistrates were quickly on the spot with a military force; but, notwithstanding every effort, the mob set the building on fire, and reduced it to shes. Next day, they attacked another house which was inhabited by a priest, and plundered it of everything it contained. At night, they were with difficulty prevented from burning the house of Principal Robertson, the historian, who had taken a part in public business in favour of the Catholics. The military, however, could not prevent them from plundering the shops and houses of several Catholic citizens. In Glasgow, a few days thereafter, similar outrages took place, to the mortification of all the enlightened persons who opposed the bill. In short, the extraordinary spectacle was presented, of a nation raging in alarm and cruelty against a small scattered class of individuals. who had not offended in any respect for several ages, and, even if now combined in any shape whatever, could have been put down by a company of soldiers. It was found necessary by the government to announce, through the Scottish state officers, that the bill would not be passed against so strong an opposition. The popular alarm was by this means set to rest; and next year the disorders of Scotland were thrown into oblivion by the infinitely more destructive riots which took place in London upon the same subject.

The progress of a liberal party in Scotland was very observable during the American war. The events of that contest were so unfortunate for Britain, and the expense of carrying it on proved so great a burden to the nation, that a very general discontent began to prevail. In Ireland, a militia raised for national defence took advantage of the weakness of the government to demand some concessions in favour of their native country. Inspired by the same views, a few patriotic individuals endeavoured to obtain an Act of Parliament for embedying a militia of twenty-five thousand men in Scotland. This project failed; but the support it met with proved the strong feeling which was entertained upon the subject. The subject of Parliamentary reform and reduction of the Crown influence had already been agitated in Parliament, and in a division on the latter point in April, 1780, seven Scottish members voted on the liberal side, which was looked upon as an extraordinary manifestation of feeling, considering how devoted the representatives of Scotland usually were to the reigning minister. In April, 1782, the Commissioners of Supply in the counties of Inverness, Moray, and Caithness, passed resolutions to concur with the other counties in abolishing the fictitious superiorities which entered so largely into the system of county elections. Previous to this period, the elections of representative peers had always been conducted at the pleasure of the minister for the time being, who only required to send a circular to the noble electors in order to get his own nominee appointed. an attempt was made to shake off this odious kind of slavery. In July, 1782, the seat of a representative peer was contested by the Earl of Lauderdale and the Earl of Buchan, both of whom were men of liberal principles. The former, having obtained the support of the prime minister, carried his election by a majority of thirteen against eleven, and the Earl of Buchan then addressed a letter to the peerage at large, in which, after inveighing against the exertion of ministerial influence in such a case, he vowed never again to enter the walls where an election was taking place. "My fortune," he told them, "is small; but I am independent. I can live on the simple fare of my ancestors. I can prepare it, if necessary, in a helmet; and I can stir it about with my sword, the name, the origin, the emblem, and the charter of my family. I can eat it, if fate commands me, in the field of battle, covered with dust, with wounds, but with honour; and it would sustain me in a cottage with the water of the brook—defeated, perhaps, but not subdued, by my enemies and the enemies of the liberties of my country. And even if that last resource of an independent spirit should fail, I could certainly die by necessity, as some have done in the same way by choice." Next year, a proposal for burgh-reform was agitated very generally in Scotland; and a considerable number of the burgh corporations petitioned Parliament for an alteration of the system under which their successive officers were elected, pointing out that the burgesses should constitute the magistracies. These movements, though not attended with any immediate effect, show the progress which liberal opinions were now making in Scotland.

CHAPTER XIII.

FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR-POPULAR MOVEMENTS.

The American War was concluded in 1783, with the independence of the colonies. About a hundred millions had been spent in the unfortunate contest, which, after all, had entirely failed in accomplishing its object. The nation suffered severely under the exhaustion produced by this war, the effect of which was much increased by a failure of crops. The summer of 1782 was the worst that any living person could recollect, the sky being overspread nearly the whole time with a thick haze, which prevented the fruits of the earth from experiencing the influence of the sun. Nevertheless, the advancing prosperity of Scotland suffered hardly any check.

The Whig Ministry, which had been called in to settle the peace, failed entirely to give satisfaction to the nation, and the King found it necessary to place the celebrated Mr. Pitt at the head of affairs. Notwithstanding that he met with a large sup-

port from Scotland, the advance of liberal principles is proved by the institution of a regular society in March 1784, for the purpose of obtaining a reform in the burgh-system—in other words, a reform in the mode of electing the electors of one branch of the national representatives. This association, consisting of delegates from more than a half of the royal burghs in Scotland, was in the highest degree respectable, both from the character of the gentlemen who composed it, and from the moderation of their sentiments. It was resolved by this body to meet once every year, and in the meantime to keep up a correspondence with the minority of the House of Commons, for the purpose of furthering their common objects. At the second meeting, in October 1785, it was stated that forty-nine out of the sixty-six royal burghs had acceded to the scheme of reform projected by the society. The delegates continued to meet every year till 1790: but Mr. Pitt. although himself originally favourable to a reform in Parliament. found it necessary to repress all attempts of this kind as much as Liberal principles now began to receive a strong possible. impulse from the events that were taking place in France; a country long subjected to the most rigorous despotism, but which at length had shaken off its chains, and was now forming for itself new, and, as it was hoped, superior institutions. Yet. while one part of the British people rejoiced in these proceedings. and expressed a desire to imitate them, by far the larger portion beheld them with a considerable share of alarm. The efforts of the French took, from opposition, a violent and bloody character; monarchy began to be denounced as an institution hostile to the interests of mankind; and the chief revolutionists were at no pains to conceal that they held religion in little esteem. speedily became obvious to all who reflected deeply, that no steps could be taken in Britain in correspondence with those taken in France, without endangering the whole fabric of government, and the peace and welfare of society. Hence the meetings and resotions in favour of reform lost much of their respectable character. In July 1792, a society was constituted under the title of Friends of the People, who, though they still professed to use only legal and constitutional means, were generally considered as guilty of something more than imprudence, in seeking to remedy a few

slight faults of the constitution at a time when its whole existence The Government found itself justified, by the was threatened. general sense of the community, in adopting measures of repression. A voung barrister named Muir, who distinguished himself at the meetings of the Friends of the People, was apprehended and tried (August 30, 1793,) before the Justiciary Court for sedition. Although it was not pretended that he had aimed at more than a Reform in Parliament—although it was proved that he had taken every means to keep his fellows in obedience to the lawsand although no single inflammatory act was imputed to hima jury, chiefly composed of country gentlemen, pronounced him guilty, and he was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. He left the Court, declaring himself "conscious of the purity of his intentions, and that he had suffered in a great, a good, and a glorious cause, which, sooner or later, would prevail, and ultimately save this country." Muir afterwards escaped from his place of banishment, but perished in an attempt to reach the French territory, where he calculated upon finding an asylum. During the course of the same year, several booksellers in Edinburgh were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, for being concerned in what were called seditious publications, and one Palmer, an Unitarian minister, was condemned to seven years' transportation, for issuing an address, alleged to be of an inflammatory character. The Friends of the People, so far from being checked by these proceedings, became only more resolute in their purpose. Being joined by some delegates from England, they styled themselves the British Convention, and not only assumed . some of the forms, but affected to possess the power of a Parliament. Their avowed objects were to procure universal suffrage and annual parliaments; but it was a general impression that the society, in despair of attaining their wishes by legal means, were determined to take what they wanted by force, and, with that view, had formed a conspiracy over the whole country. Their deliberations were conducted with so little appearance of moderation, and were so generally regarded as of a nature adverse to the public peace and the national religion, that the respectable part of the community in a great measure withdrew their sympathy. They only afforded an opportunity for the friends of Government

to denounce liberal sentiments in general, and to give an air of popularity to the war which was now declared against France.

This severe contest was commenced early in 1793, and, as in the two last wars. Scotland contributed an ample share to the means for carrying it on. Two regiments (the 78th and 79th) were raised in the Highlands within the year. Three other Highland regiments (the 92d, 97th, and 98th) were raised in the succeeding year. What testified still more strongly the feeling with which the people entered upon the war, several fencible regiments were raised throughout the country, for the purpose of protecting it from a French invasion. attention of the nation was thus directed to military glory, the government excited hardly any clamour by the strong measures it adopted for the suppression of domestic conspiracy. December, 1793, the magistrates of Edinburgh were directed to break up the meetings of the British Convention, and to forbid that body to meet again, under the penalty of being treated as The Provost executed this order with disorderly persons. firmness and good temper, and, on his proclamation being disobeyed, he took several of the members into custody. One of these, named Skirving, was tried (January, 1794) for sedition, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years. The prisoner remarked at the conclusion that this sentence would be "re-judged." On the 13th of the same month, a London citizen, named Margarot, who had come to Scotland as a delegate to the Convention, was tried on a similar indictment, and, being unanimously found guilty by the jury, was sentenced to the same punishment. In March, an attempt was made in Parliament by Mr. Adam and Mr. Fox to bring the trial of Messrs. Muir and Palmer under review; but the motion was lost by a majority of one hundred and seventyone against thirty-two. The proceedings of the Reformers now assumed a desperate form. It was discovered that a number of them were preparing pikes and other deadly weapons, to be distributed among the populace, and that a conspiracy had been formed for taking possession of Edinburgh Castle, and breaking up the governments and courts of justice. 'Two citizens, named Tatt and Downie. were tried on these charges in September, 1794, before a court of oyer and terminer, an English form of procedure which had been applied to Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne, when the treason laws of England were extended over the northern kingdom, but had never as yet been acted upon. Both prisoners were found guilty of high treason, by juries composed entirely of citizens of Edinburgh; and, for the first time, was the horrible sentence applicable in such cases pronounced in Scotland. Previous to the day appointed for the execution, Downie experienced the royal mercy; but Watt was hanged and beheaded, after having fully confessed the design of revolutionizing the state by force of arms. The government soon after, by triumphant majorities, carried a bill for the more effectual punishment of sedition, through both Houses of Parliament.

Thus unhappily terminated all immediate hope of improving the Constitution. The advocacy of popular rights was left to a few persons, most of whom possessed no weight in society. while almost all who aimed at being considered respectable, either in public or private life, joined cordially in supporting the government as it was at present constituted. The first movements of the war were unfortunate for the British arms, and great fears began to be entertained lest the French should attempt an invasion. Volunteer corps were therefore formed over the whole country, for the purpose of defending its shores. In the year 1798, the capital of Scotland, with the county in which it is situated, possessed a local armed force of about five thousand men, while in other parts of the country a proportionate number could have been brought upon the field. A militia of six thousand men was this year raised by Act of Parliament; and, if some riots accompanied its establishment, it was evidently from no antipathy to the objects of national defence. Barracks for infantry and cavalry were established at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, Glasgow, Hamilton, and Ayr; and the recruiting system prospered perhaps better in Scotland than in any other part of Great Britain.

Scotland at this time afforded refuge to a portion of the exiled royal family of France. The Count D'Artois, second brother of the late Louis XVI., arrived in Edinburgh, January, 1796.

and, by permission of the English ministry, took up his residence in Holyrood Palace, where he was soon after joined by his two sons, the Duc d'Angoulême and the Duc de Berri. These unfortunate Princes were received with affectionate politeness by the people of Scotland. The Count left Edinburgh in August, 1799, after informing the chief magistrate of the city that "his heart was penetrated with a grateful sense of the noble manner in which the citizens had seconded the hospitality of his Britannic Majesty, and that he hoped one day to have it in his power to make known, in happier moments, the sentiments with which they had inspired him." Twenty-five years afterwards, when the course of events had placed this Prince upon the throne of France, he redeemed his pledge by transmitting a large sum for the relief of the poorer inhabitants of Edinburgh, on their being plunged into distress by an unusually calamitous conflagration.

Notwithstanding the expenses of the war, and its gloomy prospects in almost every quarter, the commerce of the country was still rapidly extending, and an improvement of course taking place in the condition of the people. The year 1800 was, however, one of severe domestic distress, in consequence of the bad harvest of the preceding year. The summer of 1799 was generally remarked, both in Scotland and in England, to be the worst within the memory of man. During the ripening period, there were hardly three dry days in succession. Owing to the almost incessant rains, the grain was beaten down to the earth. where a great part of it was completely spoiled. Very little grain was cut before the 1st of October, and that only on the better grounds. In the Highland districts, it never ripened at all, and consequently was nearly useless. The crops of hav. potatoes, and turnips, were all alike defective; and it was observed by farmers that even the grass was deteriorated by the excessive wet, as the cattle did not fatten upon it as usual. A general dearth of victuals was the consequence of this fatal season, and although the wealthy exerted themselves more than on any former occasion of the same kind for the relief of the poor, much misery prevailed over the whole country.

With the exception of two short intervals, the French revolutionary war continued till 1815, when it was at length concluded

by a combination of European sovereigns, and the ancient dynasty restored in the person of Louis XVIII. A detail of the progress of this war belongs to British history. In a chronicle of Scottish events, it may only be mentioned that, both in the political counsels by which the war was carried on, and in the military and naval transactions arising from it. a distinguished share was borne by natives of Scotland. Next, perhaps, to Mr. Pitt himself, Henry Dundas (latterly a peer under the title of Viscount Melville), an advocate originally at the Scottish bar, but afterwards advanced to be one of the Secretaries of State and Treasurer of the Navy, enjoyed for many years the leading place in the national councils. At sea, the exploits of Duncan and Keith were only surpassed by Nelson. On land, Abercrombie, Hope, Graham, Moore, and Baird, were equal in fame to any commander under Wellington. At Maida, in Egypt, and in the Peninsula, the valour of the Highland regiments was conspicuous; -and at the battle of Waterloo, which finally blasted the hopes of Napoleon Bonaparte, the vanquished chief was himself obliged to acknowledge the effect produced upon his legions by the Scots Greys. In this war, however, the Scottish regiments were less purely national than they had formerly been: for Scotsmen in general enlisted or obtained commissions in all corps, without regard to the country in which they had been originally raised; so that it is not so easy as on some other occasions to ascertain the exact share of laurels due to Scotland.

Before the commencement of this war, Great Britain had incurred a debt of more than two hundred millions. At the peace of 1815, the amount exceeded eight hundred millions; and yet, in spite of both the annual increase of the incumbrance, and the sum required to discharge the yearly interest, a prodigious advance had been made in everything connected with the means of producing wealth, as well as the domestic comfort of the people. In the general prosperity Scotland fully participated. Her capital had become the most beautiful city in the world. Her principal manufacturing towns had doubled in population and in employment. Her ports had experienced even a greater increase of trade. A canal at the expense of about two millions of public money had been formed athwart the Highlands; roads

and bridges of the most approved construction were everywhere to be found. Even in the smaller burghs, a kind of new town, or at least a train of villas along the neighbouring way-sides, had arisen in almost every instance, attesting that a portion of the inhabitants could now indulge in a more elegant style of life than formerly. Not the least popular disturbance had been known in the country for twenty years; and men looked back to the period of the Rebellion, as an age of romance, the very idea of domestic war having become strange to them.

The change from a state of war to a state of peace was productive for the time of much distress among the manufacturing classes, over the whole country. The demand for an immense part of the national manufactures instantly ceased, and thus a great number of men were either thrown idle, or obliged to attempt other branches of industry, which, of course, were injured by the competition of so many fresh hands. The misery thus occasioned was increased in 1817 by a bad harvest, which raised the price of bread to a very high rate. The minds of the people in general had been in a great measure withdrawn, during the war, from the question of a reform in the legislature; but at this time of leisure and distress they recurred with anxiety to that As formerly, the first discussions were directed to burgh management and election, which were generally allowed to be in a bad state. Not to speak of the exertions made in England for obtaining a reform in Parliament, about a half of the royal burghs in Scotland, including all that were of any importance, had in April 1818 passed resolutions in favour of a more popular system of election for burgh magistracies. Numerous petitions on the subject having been presented to Parliament, Lord Archibald Hamilton moved on the 6th of May, 1819, for a select committee of the House of Commons to take those documents into consideration; and though the Government opposed it with full force, as only a means of commencing a complete change of the constitution, the motion was carried by one hundred and forty-nine against one hundred and forty-four. The report of this committee was presented to the House, August 12, and ordered to be printed, which was considered another step gained towards the object. During the subsequent prorogation

of Parliament, the movements in England in favour of reform assumed a violent aspect: and on the 16th of August occurred the celebrated meeting at Manchester, which was dispersed by a military force, at the cost of several lives. As usually happens. when the demand of popular rights is accompanied by violence, a great part of the more respectable reformers ceased to appear in the cause, which seemed to be then left exclusively to the discontented population of the large manufacturing towns. meetings held by these persons a tone was assumed which was rather calculated to alarm than to conciliate the more influential part of the community. The clergy and the country magistracies were denounced in the most furious language; every immediate evil was traced directly to the state of parliamentary representation; and it was declared that nothing less than a radical reform in all branches of the state, accompanied by annual Parliaments and universal suffrage, would give satisfaction. From the nature of the reform which they demanded, these agitators acquired the name of Radicals. In December, when the Parliament again met, instead of doing anything for the revisal of the burgh system in Scotland,* it passed five acts for the purpose of strengthening the hands of government against the innovators. The second of these bills subjected all periodical sheets of a political nature to the stamp duty imposed on newspapers. third decreed a severe punishment to the publishers of seditious The fourth was for the prevention of secret training to arms, and the fifth for subjecting political meetings to certain regulations. In these proceedings the ministry were encouraged by multitudes of loyal addresses, and by the readiness with which volunteer corps were enrolled throughout the kingdom for the purpose of suppressing all turbulent movements.

In January 1820 George III. expired, in the eighty-second year of his age, and sixtieth of his reign, and was succeeded by his son George IV. who, since the year 1812, had acted as Regent, on account of the illness of his father. It was generally thought that the firmness of the government, and the disapprobation expressed by the respectable classes of society, had effec-

^{*} Two burghs, Montrose and Dundee, were permitted by Parliament to obtain new charters.

tually put down all seditious movements against the government. But in a few months it was discovered that the flame was only concealed, in order to burst out with more effect. On the night between the 1st and 2nd of April, placards were posted upon the walls in Glasgow, Paisley, and all the manufacturing villages for twenty miles round, addressed to the people in England, Ireland, and Scotland, calling upon them to come forward instantiv, and if resisted, to effect by force, a revolution in the government. These placards further enjoined that people should abstain from work after the 1st of April. The weavers and other workmen in Glasgow, Paisley, and in the country for many miles round, immediately struck work, and the streets were covered with crowds of idle and discontented workmen. The civil authorities took the necessary measures for securing the public tranquillity. A proclamation was issued, warning the populace that all attempts to disturb the peace would be instantly put down by a military force. Other proclamations directed the shops to be shut at six o'clock, and recommended all the peaceable inhabitants to withdraw from the streets after that hour. A large body of troops was collected in Glasgow, and the volunteers and yeomanry of Lanarkshire were quickly in arms; which had the effect of aweing the malcontents in Paisley and Glasgow, and preventing any actual collision in those towns. For several days, however, the peaceable citizens were kept in a state of apprehension, and business was entirely suspended. Bands of the Radicals continued to assemble in Glasgow and the suburbs, and in the evening they appeared frequently armed with pikes, muskets, and pistols; but the instant a military force presented itself, they shrunk into corners, or took to flight. At Paisley, a body of troops being somewhat pressed by the mob, turned about and fired, by which a girl was wounded in the neck. This was the only serious casualty that occurred in any of the towns. the country, the insurgents were more daring. Many farmers and gentlemen residing there were harassed by nocturnal visits from small parties of the Radicals, who, on pretence of searching for arms, frequently plundered the houses. On one occasion, when they attempted to force the house of a gentleman at Foxbar near Paisley, a shot was fired by the defenders within, which killed one of the party, and the rest then fled. A band of about fifty, chiefly from Glasgow, collected on the fifth at Bonnymuir, some miles eastward from that city, where they were soon found out by a party composed of the 10th Hussars and Stirlingshire Yeomanry. On observing this force, the Radicals cheered and advanced to a wall, over which they commenced firing at the military. Some shots were then fired by the soldiers in return. and, after some time, the cavalry got through an opening in the wall, and attacked the party, who resisted till overpowered by the troops. Nineteen of the insurgents were taken, along with a small quantity of arms and ammunition. A few individuals on each side were wounded. This defeat appeared to awaken the Radicals to a sense of the hopelessness of their cause. So far from obtaining any respectable support, the manufacturers of Glasgow, as a body, came to the resolution of employing none of them who could not show satisfactorily that they had left their work through intimidation. At the end of a week from the commencement of the disturbances, tranquillity was completely restored in all places, except Greenock, where, on the 8th, a sanguinary affray took place between the military and the populace. A party of volunteers belonging to Port Glasgow, eighty in number, had brought five prisoners from Paisley and lodged them in the jail of Greenock. As they were retiring from the town, the populace pelted them severely with stones, which they answered with a straggling fire, by which six persons were killed, and twelve wounded. The mob then turned back. and forcing the prison, liberated the five individuals who had been placed there by the volunteers. During the night, the mob marched out for the purpose of surprising the volunteers in their own town, which lies not far distant; but finding measures had been taken for defending Port Glasgow, they were obliged to From this disastrous fray only three or four of the voiunteers had escaped unhurt.

A great number of individuals having been apprehended for their concern in this insurrection, the government sent down a court of oyer and terminer to try them by the forms of the English treason law. True bills were found against ninety-eight persons, but of these fifty-one of the most guilty had escaped.* Of the remainder, twenty-four were found guilty and condemned to death, two were acquitted upon trial, and twenty-one were suffered to go at large by the mercy of the crown prosecutor. Even of the twenty-four who were condemned, it was not thought necessary that more than three should be selected to suffer death. James Wilson, hosier at Strathaven, John Baird, weaver at Condorrat, and Andrew Hardie, weaver in Glasgow, of whom the two last had been taken in arms at Bonnymuir, were the unfortunate victims. Wilson was executed at Glasgow, on the 30th of August, and Baird and Hardie at Stirling, on the 9th of September. The mode of execution was a modification of the plan originally practised in England in cases of treason, namely, suspension till death, after which the head of the corpse was separated from the body. Public feeling had long revolted at the savage routine of ceremonies formerly in use.

CHAPTER XIV.

KING'S VISIT-THE REFORM BILL.

The movements of the Radical Reformers were effectually suppressed by these firm measures; but there was still, throughout the country, a strong feeling of discontent with the nature of the present government. Lord Castlereagh, afterwards Marquis of Londonderry, was now the leading minister of the crown, and public measures took their tone in a great measure from his decisive and intrepid mind. Another great source of discontent was found in the domestic relations of the King. George IV. had been characterized through life by none of those domestic virtues which shone so brightly in his father. He was married, in 1795,

^{*} On the occasion of the King's coronation in 1821, these men, some of whom were then in custody, were relieved from outlawry and all other penalties by a royal warrant.

to the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, by whom he had one child, the unfortunate Princess Charlotte. But this lady, with perhaps some original imprudence on her part, had been treated in the most cruel manner by her husband, so that she at last found it necessary to retire to the continent, where it is not improbable the influence of wounded feelings induced her to become the real criminal which she had only been supposed. In June, 1820, she returned to Britain, to claim her rights as Queen-consort, which led to her impeachment before the House of Lords for high crimes and misdemeanours. The trial excited public feeling in an extraordinary degree, for, while there was little doubt of her guilt, the majority of hearts found her excuse in the early injustice and deeper guilt of her royal spouse. In November, the proceedings against her Majesty were dropped, it being found impossible to carry them on any further against the sympathy of so large a portion of the public.

Immediately after his coronation, in July, 1821, the King began a series of personal visits to his European dominions, by which he in a great measure smoothed down the complaints which had prevailed against both his public and private conduct. In August, he visited the kingdom of Ireland, where the demon of party feeling had hitherto exercised a greater influence than in any other part of the empire. So far as the inveterate errors of Irish government could be forgotten, they were so on the present occasion. Even the intelligence that the Queen had died of a broken heart, which arrived while his Majesty was in the country, availed nothing against the sentiment of loyalty which the appearance of the royal person had produced. In October, the King visited his continental kingdom of Hanover, where he was also received with enthusiastic loyalty.

The royal visit to Scotland took place in the ensuing summer. On its being announced, the most laborious preparations were made, both by the civil authorities and by private individuals, to give his Majesty a fitting reception. Nearly the whole of the nobility and gentry resident in Scotland, along with the magistracies of the principal towns, and immense crowds of the people at large assembled in the capital; and one uniform of joy clothed every countenance. As Scotland had hardly known the presence

of royalty for upwards of two centuries, the prospect of its. presence on this occasion awakened innumerable ancient associations that had long slumbered in the national mind. Whatever was distinctive of Scotland, in emblem, in attire, or in arms, was now revived. The Highland gentry came to the city with numerous trains of their tenantry in the almost-forgotten garb of the mountains. A private society, which had lately been associated for the purpose of keeping up that dress, was appointed as a guard to the ancient regalia of the kingdom, which had lately been discovered in Edinburgh Castle, where they were deposited at the Union. Another society, which had long existed for the cultivation of archery, had, on this occasion, the honour to be nominated as a body-guard to his Majesty. Almost every person wore a cockade formed of the cross of St. Andrew. and a considerable number wore clothes of a certain set of colours, with buttons on which was inscribed the word "Welcome." The whole scene was a kind of masque, in which all the old dresses, badges, and practices, that the national history ad commemorated, were revived and mingled together in confusion.

The King set sail on the 10th of August from Greenwich, and after a somewhat rough voyage, cast anchor on the afternoon of the 14th in Leith Roads.

Next day, a little after noon, his Majesty landed at Leith, and immediately after proceeded in procession to Edinburgh, attended by the most splendid train that had ever been seen in Scotland, composed of public bodies and official persons in great numbers. Although the King was now in the sixtieth year of his age, his person was still majestic, while his deportment was remarkable for grace and dignity. He therefore made a favourable impression upon the immense multitudes which had assembled to give him welcome. On the other hand, he was most favourably impressed by the appearance of his Scottish subjects, whom, from the apparent absence of a pauper class, he characterized as a nation of gentlemen. As he advanced through the noble streets of Edinburgh, and obtained glimpses of the still finer natural scenery with which the city is mingled and surrounded, he burst into exclamations expressive of wonder and delight. The pro-

cession ended at the ancient palace of Holyrood House, which had been fitted up in order to be used by his Majesty as a court, though it was judged proper that he should lodge at Dalkeith House, the seat of the Duke of Buccleuch, about six miles from the city.

The evening of this day was signalised by an illumination of those very windows which, less than two years before, had been lighted up in a similar manner, to celebrate the defeat of the King and two ministers in the prosecution of the Queen. The next day was spent by his Majesty in repose at Dalkeith, and on Saturday, the 17th, he held his first grand levee at Holyrood House. Upwards of two thousand distinguished individuals paid their respects to his Majesty on this occasion. After the levee, his Majesty held a privy council. On Monday, he again visited Holyrood House, in order to hold a court and closet audience. The commission of the General Assembly, and many other public bodies, attended on this occasion, to present their addresses, the strain of which, it is unnecessary to observe, was highly loyal. On Tuesday, a drawing-room, at which two thousand six hundred ladies were presented, was held at the palace. Thursday, the 22nd, was dedicated to a grand procession along the principal street of the ancient city, which was lined, as it had been on similar occasions in the days of the Stuarts, by the trades in their holiday attire. The King, attended by the same gay cortège which attended him from Leith, advanced in a close carriage, and was everywhere received with rapturous acclamations, the Scottish crown being borne before him by the Duke of Hamilton, and the rest of the regalia by other distinguished personages.

Next day, the King reviewed the yeomanry corps of several different counties on Portobello Sands; on which occasion about a thousand equipages, and at least fifty thousand people, were collected upon the ground. It was curious to see a monarch of the family of Brunswick reviewing the local forces of Scotland, on the same ground where Prince Charles Stuart had marshalled his Highlanders in 1745, immediately before marching into England. In the evening, his Majesty was entertained with a ball by the Scottish peers. On Saturday, the 24th, he attended a grand banquet, given by the corporation of the city, which took

place in the Parliament House, and was attended by about three hundred persons of the highest distinction. After dinner, he complimented the city by creating its provost a baronet. The King left Scotland by sea, after a stay of fourteen days, expressing the greatest gratification with what he had seen of the ancient kingdom of his ancestors.

During the rest of this reign, though it was characterised by much commercial distress, and much misery among the working classes, the public mind remained in a state of comparative tranquillity. It was generally remarked in Scotland, that political animosities, which formerly had raged with great fury, seemed to have been extinguished by the royal visit. In the calamities experienced by the mercantile world in 1826, Scotland fully participated. About this period, no less a sum than forty-five millions, of which a third part was paid up, existed in the capitals of banks and joint stock companies in Scotland; a fact which may well excite our wonder, when it is considered that, a hundred and twenty years before, the nation possessed only £800,000 of coined money,* with hardly any other description of capital.

A long period of domestic peace had done more than increase the material comforts of the people; it had allowed science, literature, and the fine arts to be largely cultivated. The brilliant race of the Blairs, Humes, and Robertsons had long passed away; but it was succeeded by one composed of men by no means inferior. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the discoveries of Black in pneumatic chemistry, and of Hutton in geology, had shed a lustre on the Scottish capital. Mr. Playfair and Mr. Dugald Stuart shone not less as elegant writers on philosophical subjects. In that age, Robert Burns rose as a humble man calling for the patronage of the learned, and whose writings were to be regarded as a wonder, considering his rank and education: a succeeding age has seen them threatening to outlast every literary production in his time, and cherished by millions who never heard of the names of his scholarly patrons.

^{*} At the Union, in 1707, when the coin was drawn in for the purpose of being changed, this was the sum which reached the public treasury.

A new century had begun, when the Edinburgh Review, in the hands of Jeffrey, Brown, Brougham, and other young Scotchmen, became a tribunal of criticism, to which the whole literature of the United Kingdom was content to bow. At the same time, Walter Scott began to pour out that succession of fictitious narratives, first in verse, afterwards in prose, which has made his name so famous. To his popular pen, in a special manner, has Scotland been indebted for the investment of her history, her institutions, and national character, with a respect in the eyes of foreign nations.

On the 25th of June 1830, George IV. breathed his last, and was succeeded by his next surviving brother, the Duke of Clarence, who assumed the designation of William IV., though, it may be remarked, he was only the third sovereign of that name who has governed Scotland. In the succeeding month, an entirely new aspect was given to European politics by the triumph of the French populace over the government of Charles X., and the subsequent appointment of the Duke of Orleans to fill the throne. The defeat of the arbitrary measures of the King on the streets of Paris produced a burst of enthusiastic sympathy in all the liberal minds of Europe, and even put many of the British Conservatives off their guard. While similar movements were attempted in Belgium, Poland, and other continental countries, the spirit of Reform re-erected its head in Britain, and in the course of a few months pressed so strongly upon the government, that the liberal Tory ministry of the Duke of Wellington was obliged to retire. The King then called to his counsels, Earl Grey and other individuals of the Whig party, who had formed the opposition during the last forty years, and made it their constant endeavour, during that period, to introduce a moderate reform into the House of Commons. In March 1831, according to one of the stipulations of the ministry on its accepting office, a reform measure was brought before Parliament, and it gave general surprise by the boldness with which it proposed to alter this fundamental institution of the country. The fictitious English boroughs, through which the landed interest had chiefly maintained its weight in the lower house, were doomed to total or partial destruction. Instead of votes being restricted, in counties, to freeholds, and in boroughs, to freedoms, they were now extended to leaseholders in the former case, and householders in the latter; the borough qualification being a ten-pound rent.

The condition of Scotland, in respect of Parliamentary election. had been a standing subject of reproach for the last fifty years. The thirty county members were elected by limited bodies of freeholders, many of whom only possessed the ideal property called the superiority of the land, instead of the actual estate. In the fifteen groups of royal burghs the members were returned by those close and narrow magistracies which have been already alluded to. Some places had sprung into importance since the Union, and yet had acquired no greater share of Parliamentary influence than they then possessed. It was now proposed that, in counties, the members should be elected not only by the freeholders, but also by the proprietors of the houses or land to the annual value of ten pounds, and by the leasing of land to the value of fifty pounds for nineteen years. The burgh elections were to be placed in the hands of all tenants of houses of ten pounds and upwards of yearly rent. It was also proposed that only twenty-two of the counties should continue to return an Selkirk and Peebles. Dumbarton and Bute. entire member. Elgin and Nairn, Ross and Cromarty, Kinross and Clackmannan, were respectively united to each other, for the purpose of returning one member; while to Orkney was now added Shetland. which had hitherto possessed no share of representation whatever. Some material alterations were also proposed in the burghs. Edinburgh and Glasgow were each to return two members; Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen, Greenock, and Paisley, one each; while a group of small burghs at the eastern extremity of Fife was proposed to be thrown into the county constituency. In all, the representation of Scotland was to be increased from forty-five to fifty.

Before the promulgation of this Bill, public meetings had taken place in every part of Great Britain, in order to express to Parliament the anxiety of the people for reform. So far as the middle ranks of the people were concerned, these expressions of sentiment found scarcely a dissentient voice; for there pre-

vailed in this class a very general impression, whether well or ill founded, that for a long period the government had been conducted with a view to benefit the upper classes only, while the people at large, imperfectly represented in Parliament, had not power either to claim their rights or to command redress.

Though the outlines of the Scottish and Irish schemes of reform were described at the first, it was resolved to bring forward the English bill before the rest. It obtained a second reading by a majority of one, but was soon after defeated upon a minor amendment; in consequence of which his Majesty dissolved the Parliament, in order that the people might express their voice upon this question in a new House of Commons. Of the forty-five Scottish members, twenty-five had hitherto voted against, and sixteen in favour of the bill; but in the new House, by incredible exertions on the part of the people, twenty-five Reformers were returned, of whom thirteen were new members. Public sentiment had everywhere exercised so strong an influence on the elections, that at the division on the second reading in the new Parliament, there was a majority of one hundred and thirty-six in favour of the measure; a fact proving that, even as the House of Commons was now constituted, there was a sufficient portion under the control of the people to give effect to their sentiments on leading questions. The bill now passed triumphantly but slowly through the remaining stages, until it reached the House of Lords, where, on the 8th of October, it was thrown out by a majority of forty-one. The House of Commons immediately put itself in opposition to the House of Lords, by voting resolutions in support of the ministry and the bill; sentiments which were loudly echoed by the country. After a short prorogation, the ministry brought forward a new bill, exactly similar to the last in its principal features, which passed through all its stages with triumphant majorities. this being presented for a second reading in the House of Lords, (May, 1832), it could only be understood that the King had resolved to ensure it a second reading, if necessary, by creating a sufficient number of peers to balance against the opposition. Several of the Conservative peers, being perfectly assured of this

intention on the part of the King,* resolved to vote for the second reading, and accordingly the bill passed that stage by a majority of nine. It was defeated, however, a few days after, upon a minor question, and the ministers immediately tendered their resignations. The King, it is understood, had not pledged himself to carry the ministers beyond the second reading, and he therefore thought proper to accept their resignations. It was evident, however, that the time for any retrograde step was past at the moment when he consented to dissolve the former House of An endeavour was made, through the Duke of Commons. Wellington, to form a cabinet of moderate Conservatives, who should endeavour to content the people with some gentler reform. But the aspect assumed in the meantime by the nation rendered that impossible, that the King was therefore obliged to recall his former ministers, with the necessary promise to create as many peers as might be required for overcoming the present House of Lords. By this process, which even its most zealous advocates allowed to be unconstitutional, the Reform measure was carried without further obstacle, the opposition peers having withdrawn from the House. The English Reform Bill finally became law on the 7th of June, and that for Scotland upon the 17th of July, the Irish Bill passing some weeks after.

Thus was effected, by the force of public opinion alone, one of

^{*} Of this fact we can speak with historic certainty.

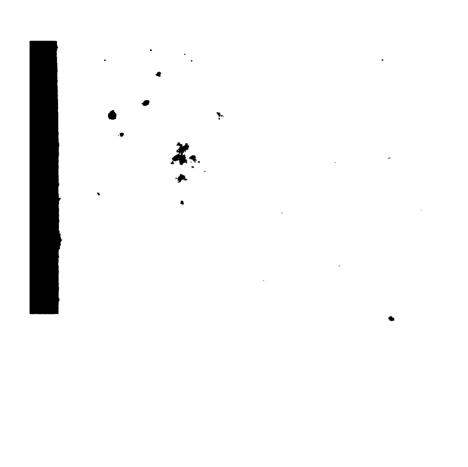
[†] In the new act for Scotland, there were some material variations from the original bill. The total number of members was raised to fifty-three, of which thirty were for counties, and twenty-three for burghs. With the exception of Elgin combined with Nairn, Ross with Cromarty, and Clackmannan with Kinross, which were, in that combination, to return each one member, the counties were each to have that privilege independently. Glasgow and Edinburgh, as before, were each to return two members; Aberdeen Paisley, Dundee, Greenock, and Perth, one member; the old groups of royal burghs, with some slight modifications, reducing them to thirteen in number, and the town of Leith, with three neighbouring villages, were to return also one member each. The burghs of Peebles, Selkirk, and Rothsay, were deprived of the power of voting in the capacity of burghs, and the constituency of each applied to increase the amount of voters for the county in which it is situated.

the greatest revolutions of modern times. In an early period of our own history, and in other countries at the present time, such transactions are only effected by a hostile collision of parties; but in the present case, such was the general intelligence of the people, that, notwithstanding the great moral excitement of the question, hardly any violence occurred. It was only, perhaps, to have been wished that the Reformers had been more candid in allowing the force of some of the objections to their favourite measure. In general, they denounced every opposing argument as arising from some selfish motive; while, in reality, many individuals, whose minds were inspired with the genuine spirit of British freedom, endeavoured to oppose or mitigate the popular fervour, from a conscientious fear as to the result of so audden a change even for what appeared the better.

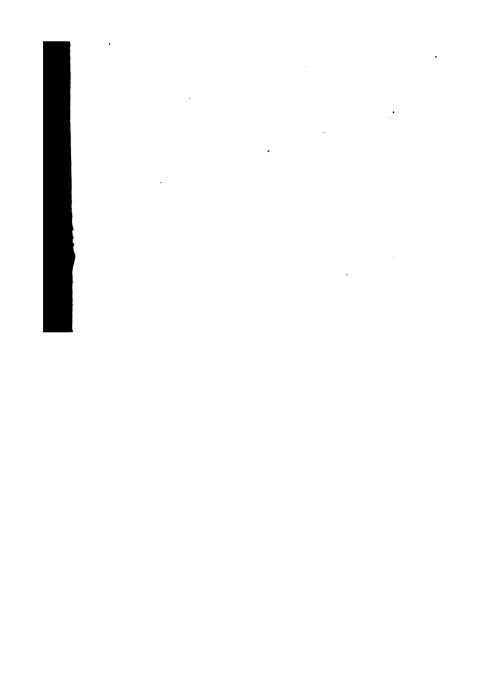
THE END.

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